# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-104
Friday
29 May 1992

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*FBIS-EEU-92-104* *29 May 1992*

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## Yugoslavia

***Serbia***—In an interview with Belgrade tv, President Slobodan Milosevic said "forces" intent on creating "as many small states in this part of the Balkans as possible" are building up "pressures...aimed at destabilizing Yugoslavia...preventing it from being established and stabilized." On the question of Kosovo, Milosevic said "Kosovo is the heart of Serbia" and separation "cannot be discussed under any circumstances." Concerning the "crisis" in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Milosevic said "the beginning and the end" of the solution is for the "three peoples" of Bosnia to "reach an equal footing." He said hostilities should "stop immediately" and the conference based on the "principle of equality and consensus" should "resume immediately."

The director of the Serbian Oil Industry said "Yugoslavia will increase its oil production and reserves in a bid to mitigate the consequences of a possible oil embargo." According to TANJUG, "there are no indications" oil imports via the Danube and Romania will be cut off, China "has not announced a reduction or halt of oil exports," and the accord with Russia on trade for oil and gas is "encouraging."

***Kosovo***—According to TANJUG, Albanian political party leaders have "declined" the Serbian prime minister's offer to discuss the coming federal elections. "Kosovo has its own legitimate organs" after the 24 May elections, "and there is no need to call another election."

## Bosnia-Hercegovina

Zagreb radio reports that after last night's heavy fighting in Sarajevo, the Territorial Defense commander has called for the "immediate mobilization" of all units in 10 districts. The Red Cross International Committee (ICRC) is suspending all its activities in Bosnia and is withdrawing its employees due to the further escalation of violence. The ICRC has scheduled another meeting with representatives of the three ethnic communities to discuss a "plan for humanitarian actions," according to TANJUG.

## Romania

ROMPRES reports on a visit by Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state, to discuss bilateral relations "in general." President Ion Iliescu viewed the discussions as a "major political sign" in the the opening of "bilateral ties on all planes." During talks between both sides on 29 May, Prime Minister Stolojan requested "the same treatment that the other former socialist countries" receive regarding U.S. aid.

## Berisha Views Political, Economic Situation

*AU2905101992 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 27 May 92 p 5*

[Rose-Marie Borngaesser report: "Everyone Must Be Able To Be Proud of Albania"]

[Text] The path along the "Boulevard of the Martyrs of the Nation" to the president's palace is lined with green plane trees. Children are playing, couples are kissing in the parks. Occasionally, one sees grazing cows or a lonely, bleating sheep. No one seems to be disturbed by that. Tirana in May. An idyllic place?

President Sali Berisha invites us in. No great formalities. The interview is conducted in English. The 47-year-old cardiac specialist works in the palace, where Ramiz Alia, Enver Hoxha's confidant, had been sitting until recently. However, then the people put pressure on the dictatorship: first a vote with their feet, a mass flight into Western embassies, then a mass flight across the sea to Italy—and finally democratic elections. The communist regime was swept away.

The old palace clique has not yet been fired, most of them are still on their old posts, now not knowing what to do, being subservient. Berisha's small personal staff has only four members. Only one person seems to be unchanged in the complete turnabout—Berisha. The people are tired of promises; they want to see results. Until the last day, Berisha says, the former communists raged in the country. Almost all files from the Interior Ministry and the Justice Ministry have been destroyed.

One of the priority tasks will be to combat crime. The people are demoralized. They take what they can get. "There is no longer any legality in Albania," the weekly ALBAPOL wrote. Over the past nine months the number of crimes has tripled. The rate of clarification is only 50 percent.

A question to the president: "How can one come to grips with the crime and unrest in the country?" Berisha answers quickly and firmly: "We must make people respect the law again under all circumstances." How? "We, those who have responsibility in the government, must provide the very best example. Because if the people really understand that we accept the law and live in line with the valid law, they will understand that we are really serious. Then they will regain trust in their government. Of course, we will also act harshly against crime, naturally always completely within the framework of the law." The state president adds emphatically: "Each citizen must feel safe in his country again, must be able to be proud of his country again."

What will happen now to the former nomenklatura? Will they be put on trial, will their property be impounded? The state president looks very serious now. "I myself am quite categorically against trials. Because any communist regime is based on two pillars—fear and hatred. Look, there are thousands and thousands of families in Albania, in which the individual members were spying on each other. I looked at some of the files. For instance, one brother caused the other one to go to prison for 20 years because of his accusations. Should we now destroy all these families again, reopen the old wounds?"

Berisha shakes his head. "No. Only those who had the highest political responsibility will be put on trial, those who enriched themselves at the cost of the people." Thus, for instance, Enver Hoxha's widow Nexhmije has been in prison for months and is awaiting trial. What will happen to Ramiz Alia? A case like Honecker? Berisha shrugs—the investigations will show.

Now the former president's pompous villa is empty. Berisha refused to move in as would be his right. He continues to live in one of these miserable rented apartments in the center of Tirana, together with his family—his wife, a pediatrician, and his two adolescent children. "I want to maintain contact with my people. Only if I live right in their midst, I know what they think and what they are concerned about."

To stimulate the economy, land reform is needed above all. In two years at the latest foreigners are to be permitted to acquire private property in Albania. "However, nothing is possible without foreign investors and joint ventures." The IMF has presented the first programs. Albania, with its still untouched sea coast, is counting on tourism. Immediately after assuming office, Berisha appointed a special minister for this field. The first construction sites for new hotels have already sprung up in Tirana. In the "Dajti," the cities biggest international hotel, mostly U.S. and Greek managers are coming and going one after the other. There is a boom, and everyone wants to be the first.

What does Albania expect from Germany? Berisha becomes animated, does not hide the fact that the United States and Germany also have priority in his very personal preferences. From Germany he particularly expects help in the agricultural sector and in tourism; and he expressly stresses that the new Albania is orienting itself above all toward [Ludwig] Erhard's social market economy. However, also regarding the establishment of the new state based on the rule of law, German judiciary is seen as an example.

What significance will religion have in Albania in the future, since the country had been famous for its atheism for over 40 years? The state president, who is a Muslim, says that religious renewal is taken as seriously as social reforms. "Our three religions in the country—Islam, Orthodoxy, and Catholicism—are experiencing a boom again, because we Albanians are profoundly religious people." There is already an Apostolic nuntius in Tirana, Archbishop Ivan Dias.

Why does the state president advocate Albania's joining NATO? Well, he thinks that Albania has never been a danger to the West. "We did not have any missiles aimed at the West.... We never had a Russian soul.... We belong to Europe." Furthermore, the Army is currently being

completely restructured in line with Western models. They way in which the state president repeatedly describes Albania as part of Europe is unmistakable. When he wants to put emphasis on his wishful thinking, he repeats the sentences as if he could conjure up some kind spirits.

However, the new democratic government not only has to struggle with domestic conflicts: The Kosovo problem in the crumbling Yugoslavia is right next to Albania. Elections have just been held by the Albanian population there. How will Tirana react? After all, the bloody suppression of the ethnic Albanians by the Serbs has been going on for years. Berisha leans back in his seat, wrings his hands, and says emphatically: "I am struggling for the Kosovo Albanians to get their right to self-determination and recognition. This is my greatest concern at the moment. Because I am of the opinion that they, like all other nationalities, must be permitted to determine their own fate." Could the president imagine that one day there might be a "Greater Albania"—with the inclusion of Kosovo? "No shifts in borders," Berisha stresses. Thus, he sticks to the arguments of the EC.

Time is passing, the shadows in the room are wandering slowly. Again and again the telephone blinks, but Berisha ignores the interruption. What is his view on Bosnia's independence? "It was a good decision by the Bosnian Government. We recognize Bosnia's independence. I have presented this issue to parliament and recommended to officially approve this step." Are there any conflicts with Greece regarding the issue of minorities? Berisha answers calmly: "We will respect all minorities. But Greece must also respect the human rights of the Albanian minority. Then, we, too, will have good relations with Greece. I do not see any other hotbeds of conflict."

What are Sali Berisha's personal goals? "Well," Berisha says at the end of the interview with DIE WELT, "my declared goal is only: struggling for my country and for my people at this time. This and nothing else is my greatest wish. At the moment everything is very difficult but not hopeless." How long, does he think, will it take Albania to get out of the worst mess? Berisha thinks for a moment, then he says thoughtfully: "We will need at least two years to affect any change at all in the country. However, to create a really new Albania we will need at least another 15 years. Then we could have a functioning market economy."

The way back through the corridors. Again the guards salute. No, fanfares do not yet sound in the country. In the city center one mostly encounters the past. No plaster on the walls of the houses. Market economy is still a miracle phrase as it was in the past: tailors without cloth, no goods on the shelves. But, still, something has moved.

## Defense Minister Outlines Reform Agenda

*AU2805194192 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 16 May 92 p 1*

[Interview with Defense Minister Safet Zhulali by Rakip Sulce; place and date not given: "Reformers Constitute a Majority in the Army"]

[Text] [Sulce] What will your first step be among the many problems confronting the Army?

[Zhulali] A serious institution cannot work without coordination. We will solve the problems gradually but completely. We are now working on defining the ministry's structure and restructuring its management on this basis.

[Sulce] The public reacting against the relatively low wages for soldiers. What do you think about this problem?

[Zhulali] I personally think that we should give priority to the servicemen's wages. I think that the established levels are high compared with the salaries of many professions, the living standard of the people, and the state's economic resources. The fairest solution would be to index wages by defining minimum and maximum salaries and perfecting the wage system on this basis. I think that the parliament will provide the final solution on this while discussing the Law on Wages.

[Sulce] What do you think about the reform in the Army?

[Zhulali] We are lucky that the reformers in the Army, i.e. people who favor such a reform, are very numerous among the cadres. The reform is taking its first steps, and we can call this a good beginning promising fast progress. We will also ask foreign experts for help.

[Sulce] Many military officials perhaps rendered their services zealously to a certain policy and to futile military strategies and tactics. How effective is your cooperation with them under the new conditions?

[Zhulali] I took office only a month after 22 March, and I have not observed such a communist mentality among my colleagues. During this short period I have become aware of their serious commitment. Nevertheless, we will refresh the staff and many leadership positions. We will not be led by political criteria in appointing the new staff, however. We have declared that our criteria will be professional ability, seriousness, dedication, patriotism, etc.

Of course, there is no reason to retain those who preserve or are nostalgic for communist attitudes. Our Army has generally supported the democratic processes. That is why I think we will not have such difficulties.

[Sulce] It is said that our Army will be turned into an army in barracks. What does this means? Will there still be voluntary forces, military training, marches, etc.?

[Zhulali] According to Enver Hoxha's ideas, our Army was divided into small military units, thus losing its force and discipline. We intend to concentrate these hundreds of scattered military units in barracks in order to develop effective military strength, movement, and discipline, just like modern European armies today.

Regarding other aspects and the composition of Army personnel, they are under study. We will not repeat "follies" but will apply those contemporary methods that Europe uses in training reservists.

[Sulce] After abolishing the communist star and coat-of-arms of the Republic, the soldier's coat-of-arms has not been defined. What will it be like?

[Zhulali] We will soon replace the star and coat-of-arms. The delay has to do with the selection of symbols by the parliamentary commission. We have already made the decision. The symbols for soldiers will be established a month later.

[Sulce] What do you intend to do with the notorious bunkers "sown" throughout Albania?

[Zhulali] Not all of them are useless. As for the majority, which are useless, present resources do not allow us to do what we would like, that is, get rid of them. This would be expensive. Foreign and local specialists have suggested several ideas. They are examining the technical and practical possibilities and economic potential of the bunkers.

[Sulce] Military arsenals have now become the object of attacks and looting. People are very worried about this. What would you say about this problem?

[Zhulali] The nationwide destabilization took a heavy toll even in the Army, evident in the extent of absences without leave and disappearance of weapons. A similar case was the theft of 130 pistols and 35 machine guns in the brigade of Leskovik. Although the looters and guns were found, we have concentrated our attention on taking measures to improve the situation, increase the responsibility of the soldier and official before the law, and leave no room for delinquents. We have been quite unsentimental taking these measures. The delinquents may lose personally but the Army and nation will win.

[Sulce] Does the strategic position of Albania hold true in the framework of new European trends?

[Zhulali] Despite the peaceful climate that is being created, it is a fact that our continent, and especially the Balkans are still not liberated from chauvinist and nationalist attitudes. Therefore I think that our geographic and strategic position is not without importance in preserving peace and solving problems in the region. Thus, every solution should consider the Albanian factor. This is not insignificant.

[Sulce] The military contacts with Turkey, NATO, and others, are evident. What do they promise for the future?

[Zhulali] It is a good beginning. We will try to be more active and have more initiative, because we see that our partners are very well-disposed and ready to quickly establish and expand military relations. I would stress however, that a more serious commitment of the parliament, government, Foreign Ministry, etc., is needed to fix military relations on the basis of government agreements.

## Assembly Elects Interparliamentary Bureau Members

*AU2805165792 Tirana ATA in English 0858 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Tirana, May 28 (ATA)—The People's Assembly presided over by the vice-chairman of the Presidency of the Assembly, Mr. Tomor Malasi, examined in the afternoon sitting of May 27 the candidatures of the Interparliamentary Bureau of the Assembly. Each parliamentary group put forth several candidatures on the basis of the number of seats in the parliament. 15 members of the Interparliamentary Bureau of the Assembly were elected by majority of votes. Chairman of this bureau was elected Mr. Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly. Likewise, the Assembly discussed on May 27 on the draft law on some changes in the Law on the Status of Radio-Television. At the beginning the draft law was approved in principle and then the changes were examined and approved article per article. But the main point of this draft law, the nomination of the Steering Council of the RTV [Albanian Radio and Television], was not attained because the parliamentary groups have not yet put up the possible candidatures. The plenary sitting of the People's Assembly opens on Monday [1 June] at 11.00.

## Ministers Discuss Labor Law, Foreign Agreements

*AU2805171292 Tirana ATA in English 0853 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Tirana, May 28 (ATA)—A meeting was organized on May 27 in the afternoon presided over by the Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi. In the first point on the agenda, the government adopted in principle the draft agreement with the World Bank to accord through its organisms a loan for the most urgent imports of Albania to the tune of 40 million dollars.

Further on, the Council of Ministers adopted the draft law on a change in the Law for the Labour Relations, which envisages the sanction for dismissal from work in case of violation of discipline at work. This draft law will be soon sent for approval to the People's Assembly. The draft decrees on the approval in principle of the draft-treaty of understanding, cooperation, and neighbourliness with Romania, the draft decree for the adherence of Albania in the convention for the status of refugee, and that for the opening of the Italian Consular Office in Tirana were also approved. The draft decrees will be sent for approval to the president of the Republic.

The Council of Ministers examined also a number of draft decisions in this meeting, which have to do with the cooperation of Albania with other countries. The agreements between the Government of Albania and the Governments of Netherlands, Poland, and China for the instigation and defence of mutual investments were adopted in principle. Besides, the government adopted the agreement on the exchange of goods and payments with the Czech and Slovakian Federal Republic, the agreement between the Albanian Government and the German one for the civil air transport, the agreement for cultural and scientific cooperation with Malta, and the veterinary convention with the Republic of Turkey.

### Democratic Party Plans For Local Elections

*AU2805175892 Tirana ATA in English 1158 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Tirana, May 28 (ATA)—A meeting presided over by the Chairman of the Democratic Party [PD] Eduard Selami was held recently with chairmen and secretaries of the branches of the PD in the districts.

The aim of the meeting was to draw the opinion of the branches of the PD for the most favourable period of time for the elections of the local power, the platform of the PD in this important political undertaking, and the success of the reforms in policy and economy.

After a fair and constructive debate and with a sense of responsibility with regard in the second battle against communism, they in the meeting reached the conclusion on the most appropriate date for these elections.

Then, they discussed on the platform of the PD in these elections. The general opinion was to have the platform of the March 22 elections, enriching it with new objectives and concrete details dictated over this period.

Soon, the meeting of the National Council of the PD will be held to decide also on the time when the elections for the organs of the local power will take place.

### Dangers of Black Market Food Supplies Cited

*AU2805192292 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 20 May 92 p 2*

[Xhevat Mustafa article: "The Black Market Is Becoming the Death of Us"]

[Text] About a month ago a four-year old child died in Berat. On 1 May a 24-year old man died in Durres. He died neither from disease or bullet, nor knife or vehicle accident. The child died from sugar, the young man from raki [alcoholic drink].

Flared by a crazy thirst to profit as much as they can within the shortest time possible and undisturbed by the public health and financial control authorities, several criminal wheeler-dealers mix these articles with urea, although they sell one kilogram of sugar at 40 to 50 leks and one liter of raki at 120 to 150 leks.

Such deaths have happened before in Tirana, Lac, Lushnje.... How long will this black market, which is ruining the lives of so many people, be allowed to flourish?

Only the Hygiene Directorate in Tirana in the Food Hygiene Department has two doctors and two laboratories besides district service. Every district has such departments. Wouldn't their civil servants feel responsible and remorse for that through their indifferent behavior they are giving free rein to some wicked people who want to become rich not only with money but through their customers lives?

As Vili Sinjari, chief of the Public Health Department in Tirana told us, the urea is found even in dry milk, citric acid, and other commodities.

After the customs house opened not only its doors but windows to foreign and Albanian smugglers, large amounts of unlicensed and medically untested alcoholic drinks have entered our country in the last two years. Imported canned fish caused poisoning and death.

Is it possible to control these items, though they arrive great amounts? The energies and opportunities exist. What is asked is a higher feeling of responsibility and commitment to duty by the civil servants of the sanitary control institutions. The tests can be made in the warehouses, where traders get their goods, and at the market.

Revision and amendments to the legislation will undoubtedly affect this situation. The decree No. 4396 dated 7 June 1968 is still in force. This decree became law 24 years ago when only the official market existed, however.

## Zhelev, Cypriot President Discuss Balkans

*AU2805201992 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—Today was the first day of Cypriot President Yeoryios Vasiliou's three-day official visit to Bulgaria. He is accompanied by Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou, Minister of Industry and Trade Takis Nemitsas and a large group of businessmen and journalists. The Cypriot delegation was welcomed by President Zhelyu Zhelev and other officials at Sofia Airport this morning.

The formal schedule of the visit began with a 40-minute tete-a-tete meeting between Presidents Vasiliou and Zhelev in afternoon. In the meantime, Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev met with his Cypriot counterpart Mr. Yeoryios Iakovou. Immediately after that the two delegations started an hour-long session of official talks.

After their session Presidents Zhelev and Vasiliou told the press they had exchanged views and had discussed a wide range of issues.

"We focused on bilateral relations. We discussed the Balkan problems and the problems of Eastern Europe and East European structures," Dr. Zhelev pointed out. "We were very glad to find our points of view are extremely close," he emphasized. The sides expressed a common belief that the two countries should expand their economic cooperation and invigorate their political contacts in the future, according to Dr. Zhelev.

Mr. Vasiliou assessed the talks as extremely useful. "We familiarized the Bulgarian side with the state of the Cyprus problem and were very pleased with President Zhelev's assurance that Bulgaria's stand on this problem remains unchanged," he said.

The president's spokesman, Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, told BTA that the Bulgarian stand on the Cyprus problem remained unchanged but still Bulgaria accepted the new definition of this problem as a "regional international problem."

Cypriot President Vasiliou assessed as exceptionally fruitful the exchange of views on the situation in the Balkans, where the opinion of the two sides were very close.

In connection with certain publications in the Bulgarian press, Mr. Valentin Stoyanov said that the Macedonian question was not on today's agenda. The sides exchanged views on the Yugoslav crisis which endangered neighbouring Balkan countries, he said.

At the end of today's official talks, Cypriot President Vasiliou invited President Zhelev to pay an official visit to Cyprus. Dr. Zhelev accepted the invitation.

"In my talks with Mr. Iakovou I set forth Bulgaria's policy on the Balkans and its relations with neighbouring countries, stressing the principle of equal intensity in the development of these relations. I also stressed the importance which Bulgaria attaches to the connection between the Balkans' realities and the mechanisms of the Helsinki process, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev told BTA in connection with the talks with his Cypriot counterpart. According to Mr. Ganev, Mr. Yeoryios Iakovou, as well as President Vasiliou, expressed Cyprus's willingness to join the efforts towards the development of a Helsinki-like process in the Balkans.

Mr. Ganev announced that Cyprus will open a nine-member diplomatic mission in Sofia shortly.

Late in the afternoon, Cypriot President Vasiliou was received by National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov.

Tonight, President Zhelyu Zhelev will give an official dinner in honour of the Cypriot president.

President Vasiliou is scheduled to deliver some lectures before students in economics and Bulgarian businessmen. The Cypriot delegation will visit the Rila Monastery, where Mr. Vasiliou is to meet with Patriarch Maksim of Bulgaria.

## Staliyski Wants Industrial Privatization Delay

*AU2805175392 Sofia BTA in English 0837 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—Today the DEMOKRATSIYA daily runs the first interview with the new minister of defence, Mr. Aleksandur Staliyski, in which he announces his intention to submit a bill to the government today for a five-year moratorium on the privatization of the military industrial complex because the state will suffer losses from its privatization now.

Mr. Staliyski says he doubts that the military industrial complex is losing. According to him, there are excellent specialists working in its enterprises. The problem is that this complex has specialized for many years within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and its conversion will be very difficult. He says that only 25 per cent of the enterprises of the military industrial complex are with the Ministry of Defence. The remaining are with the former Ministry of Industry and Trade.

The defence minister views the problem of conversion from several aspects. According to him, the most important one is its economic aspect. Before proceeding with conversion we should first determine whether we will profit or lose from this process, Mr. Staliyski believes. He stresses that this country can find markets for its military output, excluding the so-called "pirate" markets.

According to the defence minister, conversion will also yield social problems. He believes that the highly qualified specialists in this branch will have no problems in finding new jobs. "But there are also the ordinary workers who may be left in the street and that is why we should not hurry things," Mr. Staliyski said.

In his interview he denies the allegations that the Ministry of Defence will be renamed into Ministry of War.

### Party Property Confiscation Begins in Ruse

*AU2805202692 Sofia BTA in English 1958 GMT 28 May 92*

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—Today the government approved the results and the protocol of the mixed Bulgarian-Greek Commission on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation. The cabinet endorsed the Intergovernmental Agreement between Greece and Bulgaria on Cooperation in Health Care.

The Council of Ministers also approved an agreement on scientific and technological cooperation between Bulgaria and Venezuela, which will serve as a negotiating base. The agreement will be probably signed during the forthcoming visit to Venezuela by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov today met with the president of First Private Bank Ventsislav Yosifov. This is the first in a series of meetings of the Bulgarian head of government with representatives of private business on problems of the economic reform. These meetings will become traditional, the Government Press Centre reported.

The confiscation of the property unlawfully acquired by parties and public organizations under the totalitarian regime began in the city of Ruse on the Danube. Finance Minister Ivan Kostov's confiscation orders were served on the municipal leaderships of the Socialist Party, the United Agrarian Party, the Fatherland Union and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions. Buildings, transport vehicles and money are subject to confiscation. [passage omitted]

### National Assembly 28 May Session Reported

*AU2905065992 Sofia BTA in English 2019 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—The MP's [member of parliament] today voted several MP's' motions.

The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] parliamentary faction moved that a commission of inquiry be appointed to clarify the tensions arising in connection with the application of the Land Act. The majority voted down the motion.

Mr. Vasil Gotsev MP [member of parliament] of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] moved that an extraordinary item be included in the agenda on the appointment of a commission of inquiry to identify the persons who drafted and circulated written directions on disobedience and organized resistance and non-observance of the Land Act. It was voted that the commission complete its mission by July 20.

An Environmental Protection Act Amendment Bill was passed on first reading.

The second-reading debate of the Pensions Updating Act was postponed because the MP's received the relevant materials too late.

### Government Approves Gun Control Bill

*AU2805180792 Sofia BTA in English 1535 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—According to the decision which the government adopted today, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov will head the government commission controlling the manufacture of and trade in military and special products. Until now the commission was chaired by the minister of defence.

The cabinet decided that the commission shall consist of the minister of defence, the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of the interior, the deputy ministers of finance and of transport and a coordinator from the consultative National Security Council with the Presidency.

According to the explosives, weapons and ammunition bill approved by the Council of Ministers today, the Ministry of the Interior shall issue firearms licences to persons whose public, official and private status makes it necessary for them to possess such.

The authorities of the Ministry of the Interior will study every individual case, Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov stated at the Government Press Centre in response to a question about the criteria which would be applied to determine the persons entitled to possess firearms.

The bill regulates the conditions for the production, import and export, trade, acquisition, possession and use of explosives, weapons and ammunitions. Gas pistol permits will also be required. The Interior Ministry will make out passports for all licensed weapons. All data will be computer processed which will make it easier for the investigative authorities to clear up crimes.

### Talks Held on Restarting Kozloduy Reactors

*AU2805183492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] At the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant today a meeting took place between representatives of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy and the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant Section of the National Electricity Company, with the participation of experts from the International Nuclear Operators Association and a consortium of regulating bodies from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Belgium.

The meeting approved the minimum necessary measures for bringing the Nos. 1 and 2 power generating units of the nuclear power plant back into service. Only when all measures approved at this stage have been fulfilled will the Inspectorate for the Safe Use of Nuclear Power consider the plant's application to restart the Nos. 1 and 2 units.

## Roundup of General Election Campaign Reports

*LD2805164592*

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on the campign for the 5-6 June CSFR general elections monitored by FBIS London Bureau from the following sources: Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network (CSFR radio), Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network (Czech radio), Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network (Slovak Radio), Prague Federal 1 Television Network (CSFR TV), and Prague CSTK.

### Civic Democratic Party Official Criticizes Potential Ally

"Prague—The stand of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) on the state setup and Slovakia is 'one-sided and unbalanced', Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Deputy Chairman Jozef Zieleniec said at a press conference today, responding to the rumours that the ODA supports candidacy of its Chairman Jan Kalvoda for the post of Czech premier," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May. "Mentioning the possibility of Czechoslovakia's 'divorce', Zieleniec said: 'It will undoubtedly be better done by Vaclav Klaus than Jan Kalvoda'."

### Klaus Proposes Talks With Slovaks After Vote

"Prague—Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Chairman Vaclav Klaus said at a press conference today that a possible reconciliation of views between the ODS and Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democraic Slovakia on the future state setup has to be discussed after the June 5-6 elections," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May. "Klaus said 'the key point for me is to preserve one taxation system and one economic and one currency policy...', adding that what is not possible to be debated is a strong rational federation and continuation of economic reforms."

### Jezek Addresses Civic Democratic Alliance Rally on Privatization

"Prague—In case privatisation succeeds, Czechoslovakia will become a country with the largest share of private sector in Europe, Czech Privatisation Minister Tomas Jezek said at a Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) rally today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May. "Jezek suggested that the construction of the Temelin, south Bohemia, nuclear power plant will have to be completed."

### Liberal Social Union Economist Calls Foreign Advice 'Espionage'

"Ostrava, north Moravia—"'Second-rate' world experts are descending on Czechoslovakia as advisors, economist Milan Matejka said at a Liberal Social Union (LSU) rally today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May. "He did not rule out the possibility of this being a legal form of 'industrial espionage' aimed at paralysing the marketability of Czechoslovak products on foreign markets."

### Christian Democratic Party Rejects Large Campaign Expenses

"Hradec Kralove, east Bohemia—Miroslav Tyl, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) today rejected the American style of the election campaign with spending large amounts of money," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May.

### Liberal Social Union Criticizes Electoral Commission Ruling

"Usti nad Labem, north Bohemia—Frantisek Trnka, chairman of the Social Liberal Union (LSU), today called the ruling of the Czech election commission a planned and targeted campaign (against the LSU) conducted by the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) and the Club of Committed Non-Party Members (KAN)," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May. "The Czech Election Commission decided that the LSU is for the elections to the Czech parliament a coalition of four parties (the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Agrarian Party, the Green Party and the LSU), thus needing 11 per cent of votes to get to the Czech parliament. The LSU advocates the reintroduction of death penalty for bestial murderers."

### Democratic Labor Party Considers Federal Breakup Unlikely

"Prague—Representatives of the Democratic Labour Party (DSP) rejected at a press conference today an assertion that the election victory of the left would mean the end of democracy in Czechoslovakia. They said they do not consider Czechoslovakia's breakup likely," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May.

### Social Democrat Offical Terms Current Economic Policy 'Catastrophic'

"Brno, south Moravia—At a rally today, Valtr Komarek, Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) election leader, called the current liberalisation of prices and foreign trade a catastrophic economic policy," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May.

### Parties Ask Federal Interior Ministry To Screen Their Candidates

"Prague—23 political parties running in the June 5-6 elections have asked the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry for screening of their candidates, a central election commission official told CSTK today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May.

### Pro-Reform Parties Hold Joint Rally, Set Election Goals

"Bratislava—Under the slogan 'Together to Europe' representatives of rightist coalition parties—the Civic

Democratic Union (ODU), the Civic Initiative for a Free State, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Democratic Party (DS), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS)—met at a rally today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2203 GMT on 27 May. "ODU Chairman Martin Porubjak said this conservative wing has set itself three main goals—a pluralist parliamentary system, a common state, and completing of economic reforms."

### Commission Revises Decision on Liberal Social Union Status

"Prague—The Czech Election Commission, revising an earlier ruling, will consider the Liberal Social Union (LSU) a movement rather than a coalition in the elections," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1325 GMT on 28 May. "The Election Commission came to the decision after a secret vote held yesterday. With the new ruling, the LSU will need at least five per cent of votes in the Czech Republic to enter the Czech parliament, fewer than if it had been considered a coalition of parties. According to a pre-election poll by the Public Opinion Research Institute (IVVM), the left-wing LSU could gain as many as 15 seats in the Czech parliament, which would affect the political alignment in the parliament."

### Christian Democratic Movement Warns Against Socialist Bloc Win

"Bratislava—Deputy Chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Jan Petrik said today that if the nationalist-oriented socialist bloc wins the elections in Slovakia, it will demand the unification of Slovakia's splintered political scene and will introduce heavy-handed tactics against the opposition," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1325 GMT on 28 May.

### Hungarian Civic Party Chairman Fears Slovak Independence

"Bratislava—Chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS) Laszlo Nagy said he considers the declaration of a Slovak state to be 'a threat which could cause victims (in terms of) human lives'. 'This is a threat for Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia, and concretely for my family', he said," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1325 GMT on 28 May.

### Christian Democratic Movement Rejects Slovak Independence

"Christian Democracy is reminiscent of a bridge over troubled waters. Its pillars are freedom, justice, and solidarity. What kind of a bridge does the Christian Democratic Movement offer to Slovak people," asks an unidentified speaker in a Slovak radio election broadcast in Slovak at 0430 GMT on 28 May.

An unidentified Christian Democratic Movement spokesman replies: "There is a certain system that governs the way things are, and this applies to the emergence of states. Common sense says that people must first be asked whether they want a new state; if they say yes, then something must be done about it. Clearly, it must have crossed your mind to ask why some political parties are forcing other courses of action onto you when they, themselves, instead of you, will proclaim independence and will then ask you gracefully whether you actually wanted it, for there will no longer be anything for which to vote. The reason is simple: They fear that if it comes to a crunch, it might so happen that your answer would be no. It is only you, yourselves, who have the right to say yes or no to the rise of a new state. However, what is at play is precisely what is making it impossible for you to use the right you have. Our national policy is based on other principles. First, we do not wish to destroy a democratic state only because it was evil before, under the communists. Second, we do not want to do anything which would contravene the laws respected by civilized peoples of the world. Third, today we need stability and economic reversal to achieve prosperity; later, when the situation becomes more stable and we can ascertain our position, all of us will be able to ask how we wish to attain our national self-determination and whether this should take place in a state composed of several elements or in a nation-state. However, to use the name of nation for action against the nation is something that we will not do. Slovak people need calm, peace, stable government, and just laws and not ill-considered, unpredictable experiments for which the children of our children could be paying."

The unidentified speaker concludes by crying: "Yes, it is for our sons and daughters that we vote number 25!"

### Slovak Trade Union Leader Supports Slovak National Party

"The Slovak National Party has been cooperating closely with the Slovak Republic Trade Union Confederation since it was formed," points out Svetozar Korbel, deputy chairman of the Slovak Republic Trade Union Confederation, in a Slovak radio election broadcast in Slovak at 0430 GMT on 28 May. "Chairman Prokes was the first chairman of new trade unions in Slovakia. Its deputies were instrumental in delivering to parliament the trade unions' stands on particular documents, which were discussed. Slovak National Party policy rests on both national and civic principle, while emphasis is placed on the social dimension of the ongoing transformation of our society. It does not neglect the working people. The national principle stems from peoples' basic right to self-determination. The Slovak National Party was the only force on the Slovak political scene, which made this principle part of its policies already during the first democratic elections. At issue here is neither nationalism or separatism; at issue is a natural right of the people

underwritten by international treaties. Slovak National Party social policy unites three basic ranges of problems closely connected with the trade unions' policy: social security, employment, and wage issues." Korbel details the policies and concludes: "Vote for those who did not betray you! Vote number 37: Slovak National Party!"

**Election Commissions Meet on Voting Preparations**

"The impending parliamentary elections have been well prepared, and it can be guaranteed that they will not be manipulated and will run corresponding to rule, secretaries and members of the secretariats of the central and both republican election commissions told a working meeting in Breclav today," reports CSFR radio in a newscast in Slovak at 1500 GMT on 28 May. "(Milos Slapak), secretary of the central commission, says there are certain difficulties only with distributing ballot papers in the Slovak Republic. Distribution in the Czech Republic has already finished. All citizens should get their ballot papers no later than three days before the elections. Some citizens expect to get the ballot papers in a continuous series, from number one to number 42. However, the elections will be held in 12 constituencies, of which each has a different amount and different numbers of running parties."

**Christian Democratic Movement Rejects 'National Socialism'**

"Jan Petrik, Christian Democratic Movement deputy chairman, met the press in Bratislava today and described national socialism as a direction which will demand a hard leader's hand and which signifies great danger to each opposition idea," reports Slovak radio during an election broadcast in Slovak at 1630 GMT on 28 May. "Asked which parties and movements are inclined to take such a direction, Jan Petrik recalled: the Slovak National Party, the Movement for the Liberation of Slovakia, the Slovak People's Party, the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement, and the Movement for Democratic Slovakia.

"The Christian Democratic Movement regards the issue of the constitutional setup as being artificially blown up, with the aim of inducing voters to support the least expected coalitions. Michal Dzurinda, head of the Christian Democratic Movement's Economic Club, said the plusses of the economic reform greatly exceed its minuses. Club members are convinced that disproportions in unemployment or in the reduction of real incomes of the population of Slovakia in relation to the Czech Republic have been balanced by the surplus in exports of Slovak enterprises and by the successful course of the coupon privatization. The Christian Democratic Movement sees the key to success in transforming our society in the public supervision of all important economic decisions and in rapid privatization."

**Slovak National Party Claims Major Trying To Influence Elections**

"The Slovak nation is not isolated in its endeavors as some political circles would like us to believe, Slovak National Party Chairman Jozef Prokes told a news conference in Bratislava today," reports Slovak radio during an election broadcast in Slovak at 1630 GMT on 28 May. "He documented his statement with the participation of two members of the European parties associated in the Rainbow group. Asked how the Slovak National Party leadership assessed remarks made by the British prime minister, he replied that it was not by coincidence that John Major had come to the CSFR before the elections. Jozef Prokes did not regard his claim that the EC had signed the association agreement with the CSFR and not with its sections as an attempt to influence public opinion before the elections; rather, he thought that the issue was who had raised that matter and in what context and time it had been published."

**Party of Democratic Left Finds Campaign 'Decent, Tolerant'**

"Pavol Kanis, Party of the Democratic Left deputy chairman, met the press in Banska Bystrica today and described the election campaign as decent and tolerant," reports Slovak radio during an election broadcast in Slovak at 1630 GMT on 28 May. "He also said that the Party of the Democratic Left is ready to assume responsibility for a government policy; at the same time, it would not wish to make large compromises that would cause the Party to lose its own election base. Pavol Kanis described Vladimir Meciar's suggestion that a government coalition with the Party of the Democratic Left would mean Slovakia's isolation as a view which lacks arguments."

**Freedom Party-National Unification Party Meets Press on Vote**

"Slovak soldiers doing their basic military service in the Czech lands will not have the chance to vote for Slovak parties which, as a matter of principle, have not put up candidates for election into the Federal parliament, Jan Veselovsky, deputy chairman of the Freedom Party-National Unification Party, told a Bratislava news conference today," reports Slovak radio during an election broadcast in Slovak at 1630 GMT on 28 May. "He said that Slovak nationally oriented parties will loose tens of thousands of votes in the election into representative bodies."

**Parties Suspect Attempts To Manipulate Election Ballots**

"Peter Misik, executive deputy chairman of the Democratic Party, told us that Democratic Party representatives suspect—in fact, are almost certain about—attempts to manipulate the elections," reports correspondent Alice Bielikova during an election broadcast on Slovak radio in Slovak at 1630 GMT on 28 May. "He showed us two ballot papers, one with a red stripe and one with a blue stripe. Both bore the same text and the same candidates' names. This means that if a voter cast both of them into the ballot box during counting, one of them would be declared invalid. At the same time, one of them will be for the election into the Chamber of Nations and the other into the Chamber of the People of the Federal Assembly. This is why the Party will demand

the withdrawal of all such erroneously printed ballot papers and their replacement with the new ones. Eva Saligerova, Civic Democratic Party executive committee member, later gave specific facts about an incorrect distribution of ballot papers into envelopes which citizens had already received. Although in a number of towns and villages envelopes contained the correct number of ballot papers, ballot papers bearing the numbers 16, 26, 36, and 25—mainly ballot papers of the ruling coalition parties - were missing in many. Saligerova went on to say that 36 boxes of ballot papers were checked at a district office and none of them were in order. She estimates that there is up to 40 percent inaccuracy in envelopes. The Interior Ministry entrusted the agricultural cooperative at Vojnice, in Komarno district, with the task of putting ballot papers into envelopes. Peter Misik said there was a deliberate manipulation either when packaging or during the distribution of envelopes. Representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left, Movement for Democratic Slovakia, Slovak Christian Democratic Movement, and the Freedom Party held news conferences this week to express the same view. Therefore, this is a case of mistake and inaccuracy rather than an intentional move. In any case, the Slovak Election Commission has called a news conference for 29 May to provide more accurate information."

Czech Republicans Reject 'Neocommunist Clique'

"The communist mafia is master of the economic sphere and is protected by the contemporary neocommunist clique; the property of the state is being sold at jumble-sale prices, representatives of the Party of Republican and National Democratic Unity told a Prague news conference today," reports correspondent Zuzana Barcanska during Czech radio's "Election '92" program in Czech at 1630 GMT on 28 May. "They feel the fragmentation of the political spectrum was a premeditated act to destroy national unity and to manipulate citizens easily into the impending elections. The correctness of the elections is not guaranteed, they further said, since even the voters' registers are full of discrepancies. As for the ballot papers, Party representatives are not convinced that there will not be attempts to influence the outcome of the elections. They want to know how many ballot papers have been issued and how the numbers were registered." Barcanska concludes the report by noting: "The press was also informed about last week's attack on Party candidate (Lenka Zenkova). (Zenkova) is in very bad health after having suffered a concussion and severe shock. Police are investigating, but no details have been released."

**Slovak Communists Will Not Screen Their Candidates**

"Bratislava—The Union of Slovak Communists and the Communist Party of Slovakia 91 (SKS-KSS 91) have not asked for the screening of their candidates for the June 5-6 parliamentary elections (on their past collaboration with the former state secret police, STB), and they are not going to do so after the elections, SKS chairman Juraj Janosovsky today told a press conference. He described the screening law, passed by the Czechoslovak parliament on last October 4, as discriminatory," reports CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1953 GMT on 28 May.

**Party of Republican Unity Questions Fairness of Elections**

"Prague—The Party of Republican and National Democratic Unity (SRNDJ) doubts the upcoming elections will be fair," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1953 GMT on 28 May. "Miroslav Kulhavy, the SRNDJ political leadership member, said the election law in itself is imperfect. According to him a major shortcoming is the non-existence of an election court."

**KDU-CSL Seeks Agreement Among Coalition Parties After Elections**

"Prague—The Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) will seek a binding coalition agreement to be concluded by all government coalition parties when a new government will be formed after the elections, KDU-CSL representatives today told a press conference," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1953 GMT on 28 May. "The agreement would be a compromise created on the basis of the parties' programs."

**Democrats '92 Candidate Addresses Drug Trafficking Problem**

"Prague—The distribution of narcotics at Czechoslovakia's secondary schools and universities was described as a drug mafia's well thought-out action by Albert Cerny, the Federal parliament subcommittee for narcotics chairman. Cerny, who is running in the upcoming elections as a Democrats '92 for a Common State (D-92) candidate, today told a press conference that in a few years Czechoslovakia will have thousands of drug-addicts," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1953 GMT on 28 May.

**Democrats '92 Supports Continuation of Economic Reform**

"Ostrava, north Moravia—The Democrats '92 for a Common State (D-92) rejects in principle the populist economic policy of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD), pushed through by Valtr Komarek, CSSD election leader, D-92 candidates for the upcoming elections for northern Moravia today told a press conference. They said the D-92 supports a consistent reform of the Czechoslovak economy," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1953 GMT on 28 May.

**Party of the Democratic Left Seeks 'Broad Government Coalition'**

"Banska Bystrica, central Slovakia—According to the Left Democratic Party (SDL) in Slovakia at present there is no party that would be able to solve all problems of the Slovak Republic by itself, SDL Deputy Chairman Pavol Kanis today told a press conference," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1953 GMT on

28 May. "That is why the SDL proposes to all decisive parties 'the idea of a broad government coalition', formed on the 'common wish to get Slovakia out from these problems', he said."

**Christian Democratic Movement Denies Involvement in Bishops' Plea**

"Bratislava—The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) has no direct connections with the bishops' conference and thus it could not initiate or influence in any way the appearance and distribution of a pastoral letter addressed to voters, KDH Deputy Chairman Jan Petrik today told a press conference," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 1953 GMT on 28 May. "He said he does not consider the letter an impermissible interference into the election campaign. It is up to the voter to decide whom he will vote, Petrik added. In the pastoral letter, published May 22, bishops of Orthodox churches of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia said no eligible voter can stand aside and give way to apathy which was characteristic of most people under the communist totalitarian regime."

**Slovak National Party Wants 'Review' of EC Agreement**

"Bratislava—Chairman of the nationalist Slovak National Party (SNS) Jozef Prokes today said British Prime Minister John Major's visit to Czechoslovakia before its general elections 'was not by chance'," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2021 GMT on 28 May. "During his visit this week, Major said that after a breakup of Czechoslovakia the European Community would have to review the association agreement since it was concluded with Czechoslovakia as one state. Prokes characterised the publication of this statement as an attempt to influence the results of the June 5-6 general elections."

**Communist Party Chairman Questions Joint German Treaty**

"Prague—The additional resolution approved during last week's ratification in the German Bundestag of the new Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty 'opened up a whole range of questions that may be unpleasant for our future development', chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) Jiri Svoboda told a press conference today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2021 GMT on 28 May. "He described as curious particularly that part which voices the hope for German citizens, including those who were transferred from Czechoslovakia after World War Two, to be allowed to live in Czechoslovakia. 'It is an entirely unilateral declaration which does not respect a reciprocal claim of Czechoslovak citizens to settle on the territory of Germany', Svoboda said."

**Civic Democratic Alliance Rejects Coalition With Meciar**

"Prague—The Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) will not enter into any coalition with Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) after the elections, ODA Chairman Jan Kalvoda said at a meeting in Usti nad Labem (north Bohemia) today," reports Prague CSTK in English in its "election briefs" at 2021 GMT on 28 May.

**Havel Addresses Rally on His Voting Prefereances**

"Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today told a public rally here he will not vote in the June parliamentary elections the parties whose slates include people who in the past wrote laudatory but false books about Klement Gottwald (Czechoslovakia's first communist president)," reports Prague CSTK in English in a Presov-datelined report at 2052 GMT on 28 May. "Havel, who today started a two-day visit to central and east Slovakia, went on to say he will not vote for parties which run the editors-in-chief of gutter press and parties which have anti-Semites and people intolerant of other nations on their slates. He said he will give his vote to those parties which he thinks would guarantee political stability, peace and reasonable dialogue in society. President Havel told the rally that a possible threat to democracy in Slovakia would also pose a threat to democracy in the Czech lands and in other countries. He rejected ideas that such a situation could be solved by cutting off that part of the country where democracy starts to be endangered. Havel also said he now sees the shortcomings of the screening law (of October 1991) and believes it will be amended by the new parliament which will emerge from the June elections."

## Meciar, Klaus Still Lead in Polls

*LD2805221392 Prague CSTK in English 2122 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Prague May 28 (CSTK)—The decline in the percentage of undecided voters in both the Czech and Slovak Republics has shifted votes rather to the left than to the right, according to a poll of May 25-28 whose results were published today. The poll, conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research (IVVM) among 638 people over 18, showed a clear loss of votes for the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA). Only 72 per cent of the respondents in the Czech Republic and 78 per cent in Slovakia who gave preference to a certain party or a combination of parties said their decision is definitive. The rest might yet change their opinion. With the number of undecided voters taken into consideration, this means that the result of the elections is far from clear.

Preferences Given to Individual Parties Running for Election to the Federal parliament House of the People (SL) and House of Nations (SN), and to the Republic parliaments (Czech or Slovak—CNR or SNR)

In the Czech Republic:

| | SL | SN | CNR | at least one vote to that party |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civic Democratic Party-Christian Democratic Party (ODS-KDS) | 20 | 19 | 17 | 24 |
| Left Bloc (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, KSCM, and Democratic Left) | 12 | 13 | 11 | 14 |
| Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) | 9 | 11 | 9 | 13 |
| Liberal Social Union (LSU) | 7 | 5 | 8 | 9 |
| Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) | 6 | 6 | 8 | 9 |
| Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) | 6 | 5 | 6 | 9 |
| Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| Civic Movement (OH) | 4 | 6 | 4 | 8 |
| Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) | 4 | 4 | 4 | 7 |
| Club of Committed Non-Party Members (KAN) | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| Pensioners' Movement for Social Securities | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Party of Czechoslovak Businessmen, Tradesmen and Farmers | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Other parties | 8 | 4 | 6 | - |
| Undecided | 13 | 14 | 13 | - |

In the Slovak Republic:

| | SL | SN | SNR | at least one vote to that party |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) | 27 | 28 | 28 | 35 |
| Democratic Left Party (SDL) | 13 | 11 | 13 | 17 |
| Slovak National Party | 9 | 12 | 12 | 17 |
| Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) | 9 | 8 | 9 | 12 |
| Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS) | 6 | 5 | 5 | 7 |
| Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyutteles-Hungarian People's Party (not running for election to SNR) | 4 | 5 | - | 5 |
| Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyutteles (not running for election to Federal Assembly) | - | - | 4 | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (SKDH) | 3 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Civic Democratic Union (ODU) | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| Democratic Party-Civic Democratic Party (DS-ODS) | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Greens Party | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| Greens Party in Slovakia | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Other parties | 6 | 5 | 5 | - |
| Undecided | 11 | 10 | 10 | - |

XXX

The IVVM today published a survey of the public's assessment of the behaviour of political parties before the elections which reveals growing contentment of citizens.

Development of Views on the Behaviour of Political Parties and Movements in Czechoslovakia:

| | Feb | March | April | Beginning of May | End of May |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Generally satisfied | 5 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 11 |
| Reservations about some political party | 27 | 26 | 23 | 36 | 45 |
| Generally dissatisfied | 33 | 34 | 32 | 28 | 24 |
| Disgusted | 20 | 22 | 29 | 18 | 8 |
| Not interested | 14 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 12 |

## Statistics Office Previews Election Procedure

*AU2905070392 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 May 92 p 2*

["nig using CSTK"-signed report: "First Election Results in 30 Minutes"]

[Text] Prague—Just 30 minutes after polling stations close—i.e. at 1430 on 6 June—the first unofficial election results should be published. J. Fischer, Federal Statistical Office deputy chairman, said this on 21 May. On Sunday, 7 June, the commission will release final election results in the regions. The official distribution of seats among individual parties should be announced on 10 June.

Any citizen and political party who take part in the elections may lodge a complaint with the Supreme Court within 10 days, which will decide, for example, that the group in question is a political coalition rather than a single political party. Of course, the entire seat distribution would have to be changed if that were the case. A. Ondrejkovic, Central Electoral Commission's Legal Subcommission chairman, said this on Thursday. Hence, despite the Central Electoral Commission decision on the Liberal Social Union entering the 1992 elections as a single party, its decision stands only until the elections. The CSFR Supreme Court verdict may overturn this after the elections.

## Reportage on Visit of Britain's John Major

### Antall, Major Sign Declaration

*LD2805210892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 May*

[Text] The British and Hungarian heads of government have signed an agreement in Budapest on economic, political, and international cooperation. Jozsef Antall met John Major soon after his arrival. In the intergovernmental statement the British prime minister undertook a commitment that Great Britain will give every support for Hungary's full EC membership, which, according to plans, will take effect before the turn of the century.

In the afternoon, John Major will be received by President of the Republic Arpad Goncz.

### 'Full Text' of Declaration

*LD2805151992 Budapest MTI in English 1243 GMT 28 May 92*

["Full text" of the joint declaration of the Governments of the Republic of Hungary and Great Britain signed in Budapest 28 May]

[Text] Budapest, May 28 (MTI)—The Governments of the Republic of Hungary and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, determined to work together to construct a united, free and democratic Europe, based on democratic values and aspirations as well as on respect for the rule of law, declare that they will abide by the following principles:

1) We will develop and further deepen bilateral relations and multilateral cooperation in the political, economic, trade and cultural fields. We note with satisfaction our regular high level exchanges, the wide range of contacts between ministers and officials and the contacts established between the parliaments and are determined to maintain the substantive dialogue between our countries.

2) We share the conviction that security and stability are inseparably linked to the strengthening of democracy and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. We reaffirm our commitment to observe the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris for a new Europe. The participating states of the CSCE are faced with many new challenges. We will promote proposals designed to enhance the CSCE's ability to prevent or address potential crises at an early stage and to strengthen its role in the management and resolution of crises.

3) The freedom, security and prosperity of all European states can be best safeguarded through an interlocking network of institutions in which the CSCE, the Atlantic Alliance, the European Community, the Western European Union [WEU] and the Council of Europe complement each other. The security of each of our countries is inextricably linked to that of all states participating in the CSCE. In order to give practical expression to this link we will intensify our consultations on the security issues dealt with by these institutions, in particular NATO and the WEU and we will strengthen our relations in the military field both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. We attach importance also to cooperation with the members of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council on issues of mutual concern in the security and defence field.

4) We welcome the signature of the association agreement between the European Community, its member states and the Republic of Hungary, and we call for the ratification of the agreement by 1 January 1993. The agreement establishes a framework for liberalising trade, enhancing political cooperation, and developing economic cooperation in a wide range of sectors. The provisions of the agreement, which we intend to implement together, are designed to prepare the Republic of Hungary for the eventual membership in the community which it seeks before the end of this century. We are determined to cooperate in helping to create the political, economic and legal conditions necessary to achieve this aim. We also intend to strengthen the links between the European Community and the reforming democracies of Central and Eastern Europe through the promotion of closer economic and political cooperation.

5) Furthermore, the United Kingdom will continue to help in the strenghtening of democracy and a market economy in the Republic of Hungary both bilaterally, through the know how fund, and multilaterallly through the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the OECD and through its contribution to EC assistance programmes.

6) The government of the United Kingdom affirms its determination to support the transition towards a market economy in the Republic of Hungary and the country's integration in the international economic system. It welcomes the steps taken by the Republic of Hungary in the implementation of the programme of macro-economic stabilization and structural reforms supported by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

7) We intend to encourage the interest of British companies and banks in investment as well as their participation in privatization in the Republic of Hungary. We intend to encourage mutually advantageous economic and industrial cooperation, closer trade contacts between enterprises in our two countries, the setting up of joint ventures, cooperation between banks and cooperation in third markets.

8) We welcome and will encourage the development of extensive contacts between institutions and individuals in the field of culture, education, science and technology.

9) The government of the Republic of Hungary highly appreciates the activities of the British Council in the

Republic of Hungary, particularly in regard to the extension and improvement of English language teaching. We look forward to the establishment of a Hungarian Cultural Centre in the United Kingdom in the not too distant future.

10) We intend to cooperate also, both on a bilateral basis and within international frameworks in the fields of transport, telecommunications, health care and tourism, in the field of environmental protection, and also in the struggle against organized crime, particularly against hijacking of means of transport, terrorism and narcotic drugs trafficking.

### Major Gives News Conference

*LD2805180892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] The British prime minister has been holding talks in Budapest since this morning. Shortly before our program a news conference by John Major and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall finished. Istvan Kulcsar reports:

[Kulcsar] In his introductory statement, Prime Minister Major expressed his hope that Hungary would become a full member of the European Community before the end of the decade. Great Britain, which is to fill the presidential post of the community in the next half year, will urge the ratification of the agreement concluded with the Visegrad Triangle and wishes to organize a meeting of the foreign ministers, followed by the heads of government, of the Triangle and the Group of Twelve before the end of the year.

The British prime minister emphasized that his government values highly Hungary's 1989 opening of its borders before East Germany became part of the FRG. John Major spoke with appreciation about the endeavors made by Hungary on the road toward a market economy. This does not happen without pain, he added, and he said that in order to avoid even greater pains, Hungary has to become a full member of the European Community when it is able to meet the conditions of tough competition and discipline within the Common Market.

Jozsef Antall expressed his agreement with this. He underlined the importance of the British ties and the British presence in the Eastern-Central European region for Hungary and for the economy and security of the entire region.

The Hungarian prime minister emphasized that Hungary is a committed believer in the cooperation of the Visegrad Triangle. Individual problems cannot affect this cooperation. In reply to a question asked later in connection with this, Jozsef Antall said that Variant C regarding Bos [Gabcikovo—involving diversion of the Danube] is a solution which falls outside the 1977 interstate treaty.

A lot was said at the news conference about Yugoslavia. Major said that his government, in the United Nations and in the European Community, urges severe punitive measures against Serbia. Jozsef Antall said that when considering whether to join the sanctions, Hungary must reconcile two viewpoints—on the one hand solidarity with the European Community, and on the other hand Hungary's geographical position, the situation of the Hungarian minority in Serbia, and the refugee problem.

Antall indicated that Hungary is also making its position dependent to a large extent on the small Yugoslavia.

### Antall Gives News Conference

*LD2805210492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 May 92*

[Excerpts] Jozsef Antall considered it important to stress the following at an afternoon news conference:

[Begin Antall recording] [passage omitted] It is a great joy to welcome Mr. Prime Minister [Major] here. We appreciate the fact that your first foreign visit since the elections is to the Visegrad Triangle countries. [passage omitted] Our present talks have covered bilateral relations. In this respect both political cooperation and the mutual provision of political information goes back quite a long time. Our relations with the British Government are excellent. [passage omitted]

The United Kingdom's share of Hungary's total exports is 2.7 percent and 2.39 percent of our imports. The United Kingdom's share of our EC exports is 4.4 percent and 5.7 percent of our EC imports. [passage omitted] Both from an economic and a political viewpoint we consider the British presence in East-Central Europe as extraordinarily important. From a certain point of view we consider it a political guarantee factor. We have always supported a multipillared [toebblabra helyezett] European and security policy, including, of course, NATO, and the Americans' presence in Europe, about which we are in complete agreement.

Let me mention that in terms of our EC relationship—alongside the present stress on associate membership—we consider full membership important and want it to happen as soon as possible. However, even the appropriate timing and the related decisions make up part of our relations. We consider it especially important that in the coming period Prime Minister Major will hold the EC Presidency. We expect his support to continue.

We value very highly that you honored the Visegrad Triangle with your visit, thus indicating its legitimacy and valuing its special frameworks which are linked closely to the EC. The fact that the Triangle cooperates shows that problems on the part of one side do not affect the big issues. We remain committed supporters of the Triangle. [passage omitted]

We cannot hide the fact that for us, as an immediate neighbor, the Yugoslav crisis represents a serious worry, both in terms of the refugee issue and from the point of view of the situation of the Magyar minority there. In regard to international measures, we view these from the

point of view of an immediate neighbor, whereas Prime Minister Major looks at it, with great responsibility, as a leading statesman of NATO and the EC.

I can tell you now that we are expecting a visit in the coming year by Her Majesty, Elizabeth II, if the timing is appropriate. [end recording]

### Goncz Views British Economic Aid

*LD2805185192 Budapest MTI in English 1627 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Budapest, May 28 (MTI)—Hungary highly appreciates British assistance in the transformation of its economy and society. It welcomes that Britain, filling the post of EC presidency this year, gives priority to deepening relations with the Visegrad Three, composed of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz told British Prime Minister John Major in the parliament building today.

The Hungarian head of state confirmed his November 1991 invitation to Queen Elizabeth II, who will hopefully visit Hungary next year.

Addressing economic issues, Goncz underlined the importance of the 25-million-pound know-how fund, with which Britain was supporting scientific and technical renewal in Hungary. The president said he saw good opportunities for further British investments in Hungary.

The Budapest centre of the British Council is playing a very important role in the fostering of cultural relations. If all goes to plan, a Hungarian cultural centre will soon open in Britain, Goncz said.

Addressing the issue of admission to the European Community, Major warned the Visegrad Three countries to make a gradual approach and prepare for the tough competition they would face in the community. Nevertheless, Britain will support Hungary's EC membership in due time, Major said.

### Antall, Major on EC Commitment

*LD2805192292 Budapest MTI in English 1544 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Budapest, May 28 (MTI)—"My country is committed to your EC membership, and we are willing to discuss with you the timing of your admission application," British Prime Minister John Major said during his talks with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in Budapest today. The prime ministerial talks focused on the relationship between the European Community and Hungary and, in a broader context, between the EC and the East-Central European region. This question gains special significance through Britain's occupying the post of EC president for six months in July.

Major told his host that the aim of Britain as EC president will be to bring about the "open, positive, and free" European market. It also sets the practical objective for the association agreements of the Central European countries to be ratified as soon as possible by the national parliaments, the EC legislature and the European Parliament.

In general, Britain urges the expansion of the European Community, first northward and then eastward. The Edinburgh summit late this year will also release a clear-cut statement to this effect.

The three Central European states may take it as an encouragement that the re-elected British prime minister made his first trip to the capital cities of the Visegrad Three (Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary). Major stressed the importance attached by Britain to its relations with the Visegrad Three.

Britain intends to strengthen relations between the three countries and the European Community also by proposing as EC president a meeting to be held by the foreign ministers, presidents and prime ministers of the Twelve and the Visegrad Three as early as this year.

Antall said Hungary ascribes outstanding significance to its links with Britain from the economic, political and security viewpoints alike. Budapest is looking forward to Britain's six months, tenure as EC president also because the two countries have a similar approach to good many questions concerning the European Community's role and future.

Hungary's most important objective is making its association agreement with the EC as substantive as possible, and successfully prepare for fully-fledged membership. (The British prime minister saw a good chance for Hungary to become prepared for full membership in both the economic and political sense.) Even so, Budapest is also aware that the EC itself should still clarify a number of conceptual questions concerning the common European future.

Regarding Hungary's EC membership, Budapest seeks consultation with the Visegrad Three and avoids any rivalry arising between Warsaw, Prague, and Budapest in this matter.

The Hungarian prime minister proposed the EC work out a system of criteria relating to new admissions, as this would make things easier for both sides.

Concerning security policy questions, Antall confirmed Hungary's commitment to the transatlantic idea, and the European presence of NATO and the United States. On this score, he emphasized the need for the large Western integration systems to adopt a differentiated approach to the Central European countries.

Touching on the South Slav crisis, the Hungarian prime minister said that it has become the most important risk factor from the point of view of the region's security. He drew attention to Hungary's opinion that a possible

involvement of the Islamic world in the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict emerges as a new source of danger, which may aggravate the situation further.

Antall pointed out that Vojvodina's Hungarian minority has come under psychical and physical pressure. Homogenizing steps are being taken to induce Hungarians there to leave their homeland. These attempts carry the danger of unleashing a flow of hundreds of thousands refugees from Vojvodina, Antall said.

## Pozsgay on Current Crisis, Party Prospects

*AU2905074992 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 May 92 p 5*

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, founding member and chairman of the National Democratic Alliance, by Pal Szombathy in Budapest on 23 May: "According to Imre Pozsgay, They Do Not Even Observe the Signed Pacts—'Pretext Policy' Could Lead to a Constitutional Crisis"]

[Text] "The greatest danger is when the government cannot be replaced"—Imre Pozsgay declared in an interview granted to MAGYAR HIRLAP following the political rally of the National Democratic Alliance [NDSZ] held on 23 May. Imre Pozsgay said that a new political force should "win over" the voters with a different style, by promising them that the poverty can be stopped.

[Szombathy] You said at your news conference on 22 May that the government and the power elite are abolishing the agreements reached at the Opposition Roundtable one after the other. What do you mean by this?

[Pozsgay] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]-Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] pact was such a pact, too, because, although [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall said recently that the former parliament had not kept the agreements, I remember well that, apart from minor things, this was not so. For example, it would have been impossible to hold free elections without the agreement of the former parliament. The MDF rally participants thanked the former National Assembly for all that. The other thing is that they do not even observe the agreements. In May 1990, one could still argue that the two big parties were cooperating on certain public law and mass media issues and thus creating a balance in society. However, today we see that this has turned completely upside down. A consitutional crisis could emerge from the authority debate between the prime minister and the president. The struggle is now for possession.

[Szombathy] What is your opinion about the emerging crisis?

[Pozsgay] It contains the possibility of a political crisis and, unlike others, I consider this to be a dangerous development. Our society is struggling with a severe economic and social crisis, and all we "need" now is an open political crisis. This would finally deteriorate our international evaluation, and we could drift into the camp of unmanageable countries. The other problem in my opinion is that a "pretext policy" is currently under way, while the country is concerned about a totally different thing.

[Szombathy] What drastic changes do you see in the system of political institutions?

[Pozsgay] The greatest danger is when the government cannot be replaced. Modern parliamentary politics teaches us that a government must be the cheapest and socially most efficient way of dealing with a crisis. If no such government could ever be formed, a catastrophic social crisis can ensue, and the country will lose their confidence in our democracy. Finally, civil force is spontaneous solutions. This is not a nightmare, but a possibility that has to be taken into account.

[Szombathy] How could a new political movement or a future party like the NDSZ break through to the public?

[Pozsgay] One way of doing this is through its style. It can prove that there is such a thing as honest and moderate politicizing, free of extremist and loud manifestations. Another possibility is the program itself, a program that shows that the NDSZ has a background of experts for an economic policy change, a program that promises to halt the process of impoverishment. These elements are definitely consequences and we do not fear that other parties might steal our ideas. On the contrary.

[Szomathy] What is your opinion about the timing of the next elections?

[Pozsgay] This will be decided without us. This depends on the current crisis and on many other things. We would prefer to hold elections in 1994, because it would not be desirable to have a legitimacy crisis on top of a confidence crisis, namely the appearance of a parliament that lost its confidence in a government that does not enjoy any support. I hope that the citizens can be dragged out of their current apathy.

[Szombathy] In strengthening its power, to what extent does the NDSZ count on the weakening of other parties?

[Pozsgay] Undoubtedly, we also count on this. In the current process, a lot of people realize that they did not vote for the most suitable party. At the same time, in 1990, some 33 percent of the voters did not participate in the elections. There are huge reserves in this group of people, too. We also count on the fact that the citizens will rationalize their votes by 1994, and they will vote in favor of those they believe will solve their problems.

[Szombathy] It was announced at your rally that there is no political force today, that the NDSZ could supply cooperate with. What do you mean by this?

[Pozsgay] This is not a differentiation, but a need for information. All the parties underwent a self-analysis, but not a "moulting" this spring. They will repair by

1994, and then we will also have greater opportunities for getting information. Until then, we have one task, namely to expediently formulate our own platform and program. We also see that the employees have been deliberately weakended, and this cannot be a long-term interest of this government either, because the employees use an unfavorable attitude in expressing things that they could also express during trade union talks.

[Szombathy] You spoke about a "post-Thermidor" mood and a debate on the regime. What is your opinion about the current situation?

[Pozsgay] I think it is dangerous, because it can disturb the relations between citizens. It can lead to a false nostalgia because no one can rationally think that there is a way back to the former society. However, if a nation is engaged in such thoughts, it will not be able to act to change its situation. This is the great responsibility of politics.

## Defense Committee Official Views Army Tasks

*AU2905103392 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 May 92 p 9*

["V.P."-signed interview with General Bela Kiraly, Hungarian parliament deputy and deputy chairman of the parliament's Defense Committee; place and date not given: "The Defense Doctrine in the Background"]

[Text] [NEPSZABADSAG] Debates on national defense have come to the fore lately, mainly regarding the new defense doctrine. As an expert and parliamentary deputy, what is your opinion about these debates?

[Kiraly] Let us be sincere: These debates are mostly on the surface and, compared with other fundamental issues, this issue is pushed into the background. A lot of problems are swept under the carpet. Sometimes I have the feeling that there is no serious debate going on about the Army because both the government and the opposition regard this as a secondary issue. Some improvement has been noticed lately, and I hope that this trend will increase.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You discussed the defense doctrine in the Defense Committee recently....

[Kiraly] That is true. We are talking about two documents: one document on our security policy principles formulated by the Foreign Ministry and another document formulated by the Defense Ministry and dealing with our defense principles. There are so many sensitive points in our security doctrine that we should only formulate the views about our neighbors in general or dilute it so that no one can find fault with it or feel provoked by it.

We are also in the middle of a long debate on the defense principles. Here, too, we should discard everything that irritates our neighbors, and we should only formulate a few principles that are already obvious because they have already been declared: This would be the short part made public. The other part, the essentially professional part, should perhaps not be made public. I say this despite the fact that I do not believe in secrecy. Defense deserves a public debate.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In your view, what kind of army do we need?

[Kiraly] We need a small and very modern army.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How small?

[Kiraly] The Vienna Agreements stipulate the size.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The size stipulated by the Vienna Agreements is not so small, and we are falling behind in many areas.

[Kiraly] One can count on annual new recruits making up approximately 1 percent of a country's population. The sick and unsuitable recruits are generally dismissed. This means that we can maintain an army of 80,000 troops through a compulsory military service of 12 months. If we had financial capabilities to equip this force with modern, so-called smart weapons, it would be quite enough to repel anyone who might lose his mind in this region and cross the border, without causing a major war.

[NEPSZABADSAG] However, our current weapons seem to be unsuitable for this....

[Kiraly] Unfortunately, this is true. As a member of the former Warsaw Pact, Hungary was the last on the list of importance regarding the need for modern weapons. We must openly admit that our current technology is good enough to continue the training, but it is hardly good enough for anything else. During my talks with NATO diplomats, I always tell them that we can only get new equipment from one source, namely the NATO.

[NEPSZABADSAG] However, as far as I know, the position of NATO is the following: "Hands off this region. We will not give weapons to the Hungarians because then we will have to give them to the others too, and this leads to unforeseeable consequences...." You know better than I do that we asked for some weapons from the former East German Army, weapons currently stored in West German depots, and we received a polite "nein" from the Germans, just like the Poles did.

[Kiraly] Your are talking like a Western diplomat....

[NEPSZABADSAG] Perhaps, but I know that you always get this answer. If this is the Western attitude, how can this be changed?

[Kiraly] I do not give up the cause. If one gave up the struggle each time one faced an iron wall, one would never achieve anything. The West must understand there

there is a zone here that is worth equipping in order to maintain the status quo. I understand the German attitude.

[NEPSZABADSAG] As a result of historical reminiscences? Are you afraid that someone might again speak of a Hungarian-German arms brotherhood?

[Kiraly] Of course. The Serbs keep reminding us now of the German threat, and the Germans know that the world is very slow to forget, and the world has a lot to forget about Germany. However, the smaller NATO countries, like Norway, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, countries that stood alone against the Germans at that time, perhaps could find it easier to understand and help us. Their discarded weapons slated for elimination would still benefit us.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You spoke about our Army's weapons. What is your opinion about our Army's personnel?

[Kiraly] Let me start with the new recruits. I find it alarming that there is a large number of recruits who are unsuitable for military service because of health problems. There are also former criminals among the new recruits, and they bring this mentality with them. If there are problems with the youth, this is a warning that there will also be problems with the nation, because the youth are the image of the society. I also regard as unacceptable the fact that a considerable number of professional soldiers and officers are living under the minimum subsistence level. There is no such thing anywhere else. The leaders of the Defense Ministry and of the Army are working intensively on changing this state of affairs, and they deserve help from the parliament. This is an inadmissible situation in the case of professional soldiers who are in a 24-hour contact with the recruits. Improving the social conditions of the officers and of the professional personnel is even more important than technical modernization.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is your opinion about the generals?

[Kiraly] Confidence should be given to the higher echelons of the Army, too, just like to others, to judges or bankers. According to my experience so far, the generals are carrying out their tasks in a professional way. The thing that disturbs me is that, in my opinion, the efforts aimed at accepting the modern Western military sciences are not energetic enough.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Are there things to accept? Have you considered the language and technical impediments, too?

[Kiraly] You provoked me with this question, but so be it! Together with the Zrinyi Academy, the Atlantic Research Association—this is my non-profit organization—drew up a program aimed at issuing quarterly selections of essays and studies translated from English into Hungarian, selections given to every officer. We had Western financial support for this and everything was ready, including the necessary office machines. We would have even organized a competition among the officers to encourage them to read this material. The Defense Ministry had only to cover the salaries of a translator and a part-time cartographer. The whole project got bogged down in the drawer of a high-ranking Defense Ministry leader. The program of the previously mentioned Atlantic Research Association also includes the import of English-language publications: So far, we have imported 15,000 books, and we have distributed them free of charge. We named this program after Kalman Konyves.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Probably because of the books.

[Kiraly] Also because Kalman Konyves was the one who abolished the witch hunt. This is also topical: Let us learn and refrain from hunting witches!

### Small Coalition Issues No Confidence Motion

*LD2905145292 Warsaw PAP in English 1445 GMT 29 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—A group of deputies of the Democratic Union (UD), the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) and the Polish Economic Programme (PPG) submitted Friday a motion to the Sejm (lower house) calling for a vote of no confidence in the government.

The motion was signed by 65 deputies.

### Center Alliance Against No Confidence Motion

*LD2905140492 Warsaw PAP in English 1117 GMT 29 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—The minister for foreign economic relations, Adam Glapinski, said on Friday that his party, the Centre Alliance (PC) would be voting against any resolution calling for the resignation of the government.

Speaking in an interview for "Radio Zet", Glapinski maintained that, "there must be a government which directs the country, and voting differently would signify a "black hole", complete uncertainty as to what might follow. This would also be taken very badly abroad, and for citizens the state of uncertainty would be absolutely unacceptable."

Glapinski thought that this years economic indicators were proof that the economy was being steered correctly. "No fundamental mistakes have been made, apart from the fact that all the time there is a slight lack of speed in taking decisions, of freedom in decision making, which can be introduced by a so-called strong government equipped with extraordinary powers".

Asked about Thursdays vote in the Sejm (Lower House) in favour of identifying the higher state officials who had worked for the Communist security services, Glapinski declared, "this must be finally explained at the parliamentary forum. It is unthinkable that accusations can be thrown around concerning concrete individuals, but above all it is unthinkable that paid agents of the secret Communist police ended up in the government, in parliament, in the local authorities, in the judiciary."

Glapinski thought that the problems of restructuring the oil refining industry could best be solved by allowing in the 5 or 6 biggest and best Western companies, and providing them with distribution networks commensurate with their capital input. He pointed out that the decision on this matter lay chiefly with the Industry Ministry.

### Sejm To Expose Secret Police Collaborators

*LD2805230892 Warsaw PAP in English 2101 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—The Sejm (lower house) voted on Thursday to oblige the interior minister to disclose lists of senior figures in public life who collaborated with the Security Service (SB) of Poland's communist regime in the years 1945-1990. The Sejm demand for information applies to senior officials at national and provincial levels, senators and deputies, judges, prosecutors and lawyers, and elected and appointed officials at local government level. A resolution to this effect was proposed by Janusz Korwin-Mikke of the Union of Real Politics (UPR) and adopted without discussion with an overwhelming majority of 186 votes against 15, and 32 abstentions.

Among those voting against were mainly deputies of the Democratic Union (UD) caucus. Its member, Jerzy Ciemniewski criticised the resolution as a contradiction to the principles of a state governed by the rule of law and a violation of basic human rights, and declared he was giving up further work, although not his seat, in the Sejm. "I will not participate in the Sejm work until people who, governed by emotions, took this decision as part in a dirty political game, get sober again," he stated.

"It is a decision which was subject to a very detailed parliamentary work in other countries, and the laws adopted there, without haste and emotions, had far-reaching social and political consequences. If such resolutions are passed without proper consideration, their effects will be disastrous both to the society as a whole and to individuals," Ciemniewski opined. In his opinion the Sejm resolution violates the laws on police, on the state protection office, and on state secrets. However, according to Sejm Deputy Speaker Andrzej Kern the resolution is not contrary to the law although he admitted it insufficiently protected the right to defence.

"I do not consider the procedure of its adoption right," he added. "The Sejm presidium has appealed many a time to restrain from forwarding motions at the last moment as it makes normal procedure impossible. Unfortunately, temperaments are stronger than the Sejm presidium appeals."

Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz refused any comment for the press until June 6, that is when lists of top state officials and parliamentarians are ready.

Meanwhile, the parliamentary floor groups of the Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Congress, the Polish Economic Programme and the Solidarity of Labour said the Sejm resolution was illegal as the interior minister may be authorised to give information on people collaborating with the secret services only in a law.

The caucuses stated the interior minister would commit a crime while implementing the resolution and thus he would have to be brought to constitutional and penal accountability.

We admit the squaring of accounts with the past is very important but think it cannot be done by means violating basic rules of the law, they stated.

The floor groups were also concerned with the fact that the resolution gives no guarantees for protection of human rights, defines no legal procedure for the scrutiny, envisages no right to defence, and vests all decisions on the issue with the interior minister.

The lack of all control over the minister's decisions poses the danger of using the Sejm resolution for private political battles, the four caucuses stressed.

### Moczulski Accuses UD of 'Engineering' Crisis

*LD2805194592 Warsaw PAP in English 1537 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—It is ridiculous that the Democratic Union (UD) is calling for the dismissal of the Jan Olszewski government, while at the same time supporting the budget proposals of that government, claimed Leszek Moczulski, leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN), on Thursday.

Speaking after a meeting with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, leader of the UD, Moczulski said that they shared a feeling of unease at the growing political and budgetary crisis in Poland. But he accused Mazowiecki of attempting to engineer a political crisis by forcing the resignation of the Olszewski government. In that case, "if the UD candidate for prime minister fails to obtain a majority in the Sejm, in the ensuing political crisis, early parliamentary elections become a possibility," he said.

Moczulski, believed, however, that a new coalition will be formed next week, either among centre-right parties, or around the so- called "Small Coalition" of the UD and its liberal allies. But he stressed that entry by KPN into an expanded coalition would depend on the new government agreeing to take stern anti-recessionary measures. KPN would also have to approve ministerial appointments.

### KLD Head Admits Coalition Stands 'No Chance'

*LD2805200992 Warsaw PAP in English 1611 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—According to leader of the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD), a candidate of the so-called Small Coalition stands no chance of becoming the next prime minister.

Donald Tusk told a news conference on Thursday that the main aim of the Small Coalition's motion to recall the government was to see how much support the idea would get in the parliament. The motion is to be submitted to the Sejm Presidium later on Thursday. Tusk did not rule out a victory in the Sejm voting. He also hoped that the motion might make President Lech Walesa more actively support this alignment.

Tusk said that the candidature of Tadeusz Mazowiecki for the premiership aroused controversy within the Small Coalition which is formed by KLD with the Democratic Union (UD) and the Polish Economic Programme (PPG).

### Peasant, Christian Parties Form Coalition

*LD2905093992 Warsaw PAP in English 2126 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—The parliamentary floor groups of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), the Peasant Agreement (PL) and the Christian National Union (ZChN) initialled an agreement on forming a coalition on Thursday.

The Caucuses declared their readiness for cooperation with a view to stabilising the situation in Poland and consolidating the ruling coalition, and announced their willingness to work out joint stands on all crucial issues, both political and economic ones.

"We have political will to resolutely defend the present cabinet. We have agreed on some common actions: Today we want to defend the Jan Olszewski government, in further perspective we will try to prevent the formation of a cabinet dominated by the Democratic Union," ZChN spokesman Ryszard Czarnecki stated.

### Sejm Debates Dismissal of Finance Minister

*LD2905094692 Warsaw PAP in English 2113 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—The Sejm (Lower House) will examine the prime minister's motion to dismiss Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski at its nearest sitting next week.

Addressing deputies on Thursday, Premier Jan Olszewski underlined his motion followed Olechowski's own resignation on May 6 in protest against the Sejm decisions relating to the central budget which he considered infeasible.

The prime minister pointed out that Olechowski's resignation was "a great loss to the government and the interests of the state" but added he understood the decision.

Earlier on Thursday the chamber obliged the prime minister to explain the legal situation of Andrzej Olechowski after his resignation. He has been acting as a caretaker finance minister since then.

While submitting the motion, Zbigniew Skorecki drew attention to the fact that Minister Olechowski, whose resignation had been accepted by the prime minister, signed important international agreements, for instance with the Fiat concern and the London Club of Poland's creditors.

The Sejm acknowledged the premier's information although, as Jan Rokita stressed, deputies wanted to know reasons for the delay in examining the dismissal motion.

### Sejm Examines Anti-Corruption Bill

*LD2905085192 Warsaw PAP in English 1846 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—The Sejm (Lower House) on Thursday examined a draft law designed to eliminate the possibility of combining high posts in public life with membership in the boards of directors and other managerial bodies in companies.

The law on curbing economic activities of people at public posts would cover top positions in the state, high state officials and those engaged in local self-governments, as well as parliamentarians. Also, persons performing public functions would have to declare their financial status.

The bill was supported by parliamentary caucuses and individual discussants, some of whom deplored the fact that it was not adopted three years earlier, that is when Solidarity took over. According to Deputy Ryszard Czarnecki of the Christian National Union (ZCHN) the law may restore social confidence in politicians.

Some caucuses, among them the Centre Alliance (PC), called for tougher measures against those making false statements on their financial status and demanded that this provision of the bill also cover public persons' spouses.

However, the Polish Economic Programme (PPG) caucus warned against excessive restrictions. "The law may discourage persons with economic experience from running for parliamentary seats," Deputy Leszek Bubel argued. Also Teresa Liszcz (the Centre Alliance) warned against closing the doors of parliament to businessmen.

### Sejm Postpones Vote on Anti-Corruption Bill

*LD2905085792 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—Due to the lack of quorum, the Sejm decided to vote on the anti-corruption bill at its nearest sitting to be held from June 4 to 6.

### Former Defense Minister Will Set Up Own Party

*LD2805204492 Warsaw PAP in English 1854 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—Former national Defence Minister Jan Parys on Thursday said he plans to form a "political structure" based on the Parys Defence Committees.

Parys was not sure whether he will become the leader of the new structure but stressed that his top goal is to unite the majority of society which, in his opinion, "is dissatisfied with the functioning of political institutions." He also added that it is necessary to unite "pro-independent forces against the forces of the left."

Referring to the recent withdrawal by the president of his support for the Jan Olszewski government, the former defence minister expressed an opinion that "everyone can see that the attack against the Defence Ministry is a part of a general anti-government campaign organized by people linked with the "roundtable." The collapse of this government would mean the return to power of the "postcommunist alliance," declared Parys.

Jan Parys was recalled by Sejm (lower house) from the post of national defence minister last Saturday after a row over his public, groundless as it appeared later, enunciations on an alleged plot between some politicians and the military to overthrow democracy in Poland.

### Colonel Claims Russians Reneging on Treaty

*LD2805224892 Warsaw PAP in English 1729 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—Russians do not agree to make the joint assessment of ecological damage they did on the territories where troops of the former Soviet Army were stationed so far despite the treaty signed to this effect, Col. Slawomir Gozdzik from the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for the Stationing of Troops of the Former Soviet Army in Poland said Thursday.

According to Gozdzik, Russians prevent staffers of the Polish Ministry for Environmental Protection from entering the grounds where they were stationed so far, substantiating this by a ban they received from Moscow already after signing the Polish-Russian treaty on the withdrawal of troops of the Russian Federation from Poland.

"We must expect this to be a deliberate action by Russia which will perhaps respond to our unilateral assessment of the damage that it was done by Poles themselves," Col. Gozdzik said.

According to Article No. 3 of the protocol solving property and financial issues related to the withdrawal of the troops, signed in Moscow May 22, "Russia will provide inspectors of the Polish State Environmental Protection with permanent access to all facilities. Inspections will result in drawing up joint protocols on the current condition of natural environment of the territories where these facilities are located."

### Father Popieluszko's Killer Discharged Early

*LD2805192692 Warsaw PAP in English 1229 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—The Provincial Court in Warsaw Thursday accepted a complaint lodged by Leszek Pekala, one of the four former Interior Ministry functionaries convicted in 1985 for killing Father Jerzy Popieluszko, and conditionally discharged him from serving the remaining part of his 10-year sentence.

Pekala, having served six years in prison was freed in October 1990 under two successive amnesty laws.

## Daily Claims Poles Trained Cuban Spies in 1970s

*AU2505083792 Warsaw NOWY SWIAT in Polish 14 May 92 pp 1, 2*

[Jozef Szaniawski report: "The PPR Trained Terrorists on Orders from the Kremlin"]

[Text] There are major clues that in the Polish People's Republic [PPR], the Polish special services trained on orders from the Kremlin intelligence agents and terrorists from so-called progressive countries of the Third World. Despite these clues, nothing has ever been proved, there were no documents, and the work of special agents was guarded like the biggest state secrets. Even though Polish and foreign media raised the subject several times, the top authorities of the PPR, including Generals Jaruzelski and Kiszczak, have always denied these reports.

Western press and television have reported many times that the KGB regularly trained agents and terrorists on Soviet territory, at secret training centers belonging to the Soviet special services. Training was given not only to 'Arafat's Palestinians, but also to special service officers from Syria, Libya, Cuba, Nicaragua, Iraq, and other "friendly" countries that were supposed to introduce the communist system to the so-called Third World.

We also know today that individual Warsaw Pact countries also trained terrorist groups on orders from Moscow. Thus, for example, Hungary trained and assisted the infamous Carlos, and the Bulgarians and Romanians cooperated for many years with terrorists from Turkey and the Italian Red Brigades. Czechoslovakia was the terrorists' main supplier of explosives (the famous "Semtex') and weapons. The East German STASI trained Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's Libyans, and also supervised the terrorists of the Red Army Factions in the FRG. All these operations were controlled from the KGB headquarters at the Lubyanka in Moscow. The targets of terrorists attacks in various countries were diversified, but there was one strategic goal: to destabilize the democratic countries of the West, especially the United States, for the sake of the Kremlin's power interests. Was Poland an exception among the communist bloc? Perhaps no terrorists were trained in the PPR?

### The Poles Trained Cubans in Russian

NOWY SWIAT has obtained absolutely reliable secret material which confirms that officers of the special services of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces regularly received training in the PPR. Quite by chance, this material was not destroyed on the threshold of 1989 and 1990, despite orders from Jaruzelski and Kiszczak to do so.

Intelligence agents and terrorists received training in the PPR from the 1970's onwards. This training was offered on a regular basis at the Feliks Dzerzhinskiy Training Center of the Internal Military Service [WSW] in Minsk Mazowiecki, near Warsaw. The Cubans probably received training at other Polish locations as well.

In 1984, the following officers of the special services of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces received training from the WSW: Lieutenant-Colonel Orestes Dannis, Major Augusto Ochoa, Major Israel Vera, Major Orestes Ordaz, Captain Ramon Perez, Captain Manuel Gelis, Captain Jose Sanchez, Captain Bernardo Rodriguez, Lieutenant Juan Fajardo, Lieutenant Leonardo Gonzalez, Lieutenant Rolando Baez, and Private Heribanto Gispert. Twelve men in all.

One is struck by the variety of ranks in this group. They included intelligence and counterintelligence agents, as well as officers involved in special operations, in other words terrorist or terrorist-support missions.

The Cubans received their training from Polish WSW officers in Russian. That fact alone indicates for whom and in whose interests the training was given in the first place. Another significant fact is the title of one of the ideological subjects with which the Cuban officers were indoctrinated: "The Soviet Union and its Armed Forces in the Protection of Security and Peace in Europe and the World."

### As Part of "Internationalist Aid"

Under the Brezhnev and Andropov administrations, the USSR assigned a special role to Cuba. Although the Cubans were relatively few in number, they were nevertheless the main factor in the "world revolution." Regular Cuban Army troops fought in Angola, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua, among other places, while subversive groups and individual terrorists operated practically all over the world.

We in NOWY SWIAT have recently reported the memoirs of General Wladyslaw Pozoga, former first deputy minister of internal affairs and chief of PPR intelligence and counterintelligence, entitled "General Jaruzelski Will Never Say This." This is what Pozoga has to say about the role of the Cubans as part of the KGB's world subversion: "The thousands of Cuban immigrants to the United States include hundreds of first-class agents, who have penetrated the highest levels of the U.S. administration, army, and central intelligence. They are led in an excellent manner. They are not exposed to anti-conspiracy. Very seldom do they send reports to headquarters, only in an exceptional situation."

Apart from the Arabs, Cuban agents and terrorists were the most devout and energetic component of the USSR's "cold war" against the Western democracies. But why were they trained in Poland? Was it not possible to train them in Cuba itself, or the USSR?

The KGB and GRU [Soviet military intelligence] probably trained the most important agents at home, and the rest had to be trained in the so-called fraternal countries as part of "internationalist aid." They includes the 12 Cubans listed above.

These 12, plus other officers of the Cuban special services, were in Poland "undercover," in other words their official papers made them out to be road traffic officers, or air force officers, or naval officers. The point was to keep their real functions secret even from their own people, for terrorism does not permit written documents, especially terrorism led by the KGB and GRU.

**Who Knew About This?**

The highest authorities in Poland knew who the Cuban officers in Poland really were. These matters were decided at the highest levels in Moscow, Warsaw, and Havana. The following people knew about the training of Cuban intelligence agents and terrorists and made the appropriate decisions: General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (now retired); General Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs (now retired); General Edward Poradko, chief of the WSW (now retired); General Robert Misztal, chief of Department II of the General Staff (now commander of the UN forces in Syria); General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense (now retired); General Edward Bukla, deputy chief of the WSW (currently facing charges of having personally tortured officers of the Home Army during interrogations in the 1950's as a military intelligence officer); Colonel Jan Majewski, vice minister of foreign affairs responsible for Third World affairs and an officer in the WSW (still a vice minister of foreign affairs); Colonel Zbigniew Sawicki, commandant of the Dzerzhinskiy WSW Training Center (now retired); Colonel Ryszard Wlodarski, assistant commandant of the above training center (now retired); and Colonel Ludwik Makarewicz, assistant commandant of the above training center (now retired).

**Stalinist Traditions**

Apart from these Polish officers, the following persons were interested in the Cubans "studying" in Minsk Mazowiecki: General V. I. Fomin, Soviet GRU resident in Warsaw; and an unknown officer liaising between the Cuban special services in Havana on the one hand and Polish intelligence, counterintelligence, and WSW command in Warsaw on the other. This man was sent to Warsaw by Havana. Apart from the official post of military attache, the Cuban embassy in Warsaw also had a liaison officer, who was really the resident of the Cuban special services in Poland.

Three subsequent chiefs of Department II of the General Staff—Generals Kiszczak, Poradko, and Misztal—also played a special role in this Polish-Soviet-Cuban cooperation. The first two climbed their way up to the post of chief of the WSW. Misztal did not, because the PPR ceased to exist.

The WSW succeeded the criminal Military Information Service of the Stalinist era, and was under the authority of the GRU in Moscow. Western politicians and Sovietologists maintain that the GRU is even more criminal than the KGB. Suvorov has described how the GRU trains agents and terrorists in his book "Aquarium."

In fact, the Feliks Dzerzhinskiy WSW Training Center in Minsk Mazowiecki was for a long time a training center for the Soviet GRU. We know that Cubans were trained there many times, not just in 1984. They were trained in order to act for the sake of the imperial interests of the USSR and against the Polish raison d'etat. The price that Poland paid for this was exceedingly high, far higher than the material cost of training Cuban agents and subversives.

## Railway Men Protest Reduction of Benefits

*LD2805201292 Warsaw PAP in English 1554 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—Over 10,000 railway men representing six trade unions operating in the Polish State Railways Company (PKP) staged a march in Warsaw on Thursday in protest against a bill limiting their privileges.

In a petition addressed to the Sejm (Lower House) and Senate speakers the protesters demanded that the Sejm rejected or changed the draft law that deprived railway men of the right to reduced fares or free travels by public transport.

They also challenged the 1992 draft budget as incompatible with the law on the PKP because of cuts in subsidies to PKP enterprises.

The draft law on rights to free travels or reduced fares will be examined by the Sejm on June 4-6 along with the draft of the state budget. The abolishment of privileges at railways and elsewhere is absolutely necessary for the sake of Polish economic reforms, the Ministry of Transport claims.

## Government Plans To Aid Only Profitable Mills

*PM2805145492 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 19 May 92 pp 1-2*

[Interview with Edward Nowak, deputy minister of trade and industry, by correspondent Mariusz Urbanke; place, date not given]

[Text] [Urbanke] Minister, you are a frequent visitor to Silesia. How do you assess the dangers threatening the region?

[Nowak] Silesia is indeed a vast and greatly neglected industrial area. We can expect the restructuring process in Silesia to take the longest time, to be the most difficult, and to entail the heaviest expenses. This is why I am very pleased that local economic communities want to participate actively in this task. The government intends to help only those who are determined to help themselves.

[Urbanke] You were involved in the metallurgical industry for a great many years. This is one of the dominant sectors in Silesia, as well as one that faces the most serious risk of collapse. What future does the government plan for Silesia's metallurgical plants?

[Nowak] We will not hids the fact that so far we have definitive plans for the future of only two steel plants, that is, Sendzimir and Katowice. We intend to set up a kind of a holding company, with a proportion of funds coming from the World Bank. On the other hand, the remaining steel plants will be forced to fight very hard to survive. A similar situation prevails in the mining industry. We estimate that some 18 mines will have to be liquidated because they have proved to be "permanently non-profitmaking". There are chances that twenty other mines will eventually begin to make profits after the year 2000, and this is why they can expect to receive some assistance. The remaining mines are expected to maintain their reasonably decent financial situation.

[Urbanke] You attend many meetings with representatives of economic and industrial circles throughout the country. What are your impressions?

[Nowak] I will not pretend that the government is not very sharply criticized. I myself often encourage my interlocutors to express their criticism, for this provides a sound base for drawing constructive conclusions for our future policy. However, it also happens that we take the blame for the faults made by the previous teams, and even for areas of neglect going back to the time of the communist regime. When I must answer such accusations, I often cite the line from a song which was very popular at the time of martial law: "Just Let's Get On With What We Need To Do." Regardless of the constantly changing teams at the top of the power structure, regardless of all political vacillations which can influence the economy, let us formulate and implement our own enterprise restructuring programs, and let us seek out new markets and new funds, finally, let us rely mainly on ourselves. Then we will be certain to suffer the smallest number of disappointments on our way.

## Government Reviews Plans To Combine Ministries

*LD2905090492 Warsaw PAP in English 1922 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—The working group which is coordinating plans to create a Polish Economy Ministry presented its proposals to the office of the Council of Ministers on May 23, Jerzy Kowalczyk, director general of the Central Planning Office (CUP) and a member of the working group, told reporters on Thursday.

The proposals to create the new ministry, which will bring together the existing ministries of industry and trade, spatial planning and construction, and privatization, together with CUP, have been under discussion for about a year. It will be concerned with strategic decisions to assist the process of transformation in the Polish economy, will prepare plans in the fields of socio-economic and regional policy, and will issue economic forecasts and analyses.

At the same press conference, CUP head Jerzy Eysymontt said that there was broad agreement in the cabinet on the establishment of the new ministry, although there remained differences as to which ministries should be fused into the new body.

## Production Down, Unemployment Up in April

*LD2805224192 Warsaw PAP in English 1708 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—Industrial production in Poland was some 4.2 percent lower than in March 1992, although the figure represented a 4.5 percent rise over April 1991, according to figures released on Thursday by Poland's Chief Statistical Office (GUS).

In comparison with April 1991, production rose in 10 out of 23 industrial sectors, with the most significant increases in fuels (32.6 percent) and transport (30.1 percent). The sharpest falls were noted in the engineering industry (19.4 percent), the precision industry (13.1 percent), and coal mining (13 percent).

Unemployment continued to rise, with a further 101,900 Poles registering with local job-centers in April. The total number of registered unemployed now stands at over 2.2 million.

The April inflation figures also increased. According to GUS Deputy Chairman Roman Sawinski, much of the rise was attributable to increased charges to domestic consumers for hot water and central heating, and higher electricity and transport costs.

Food prices between May 10-20 were 4.6 percent higher than in the corresponding period in April, which could be attributed to an increase in the rate of the turnover tax, which came into force on May 4, Sawinski said.

## Eagleburger, U.S. Delegation Visit Bucharest

### Welcomed by Nastase

*AU2805175992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0957 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/5/1992—Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state, coordinator of the U.S. Assistance Programme for Central and Eastern Europe, arrived in Bucharest on Thursday morning for a short visit.

At the airport the U.S. delegation were welcomed by Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase, by other officials.

Upon arrival the American dignitary stated his visit to Bucharest would be an opportunity to discuss with the Romanian side the stage of bilateral relations in general, with special stress on the future U.S. assistance for Romania. As for international issues he intends to survey together with Romanian officials the crisis in Yugoslavia.

In his turn Adrian Nastase stressed the visit of the U.S. deputy secretary of state was a wonderful opportunity to debate tangible aspects of the future assistance the United States is to grant Romania, pointing out also that opinions would be exchanged on international issues.

At a short time after the arrival in Bucharest of the American governmental delegation led by Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, the talks have started at the Foreign Affairs Ministry headquarters with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase. Approach is made of a wide range of problems meant to ensure further a positive course to the bilateral relations on political and economic planes. The visit is an opportunity to discuss the assistance Romania might receive on behalf of the U.S.A., to openly approach the still existing obstacles in the Romanian-American relations, marking thus the passage to a new stage of the bilateral relations.

### Discusses MFN Status With Nastase

*AU2805185292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1602 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/5/1992—Talks were held in Bucharest on 28 May between Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state, who is leading a government delegation on an official visit to Romania.

Talks were also held by working groups—economy, information and culture—led by Romanian and American ministerial and central institutions executives.

The talks covered the bilateral relations, and the potential for action at government level to promote them, in the economy more particularly, in consideration of Romania's position in this part of Europe.

Eagleburger showed during the high-level talks that action had been taken by the U.S. Administration to speedily give Romania most-favoured-nation [MFN] status, which showed in the signature of a bilateral trade agreement. He said that an outstanding role in its ratification by U.S. Congress is to be played by the holding of free and democratic legislative elections in the first half of the year. In his opinion, the MFN status will give ample opportunities for U.S. investment in Romania, for the growth of bilateral trade.

For his part, Adrian Nastase said that the Romanian Government and the president firmly upheld the idea of early elections which he hoped would be held early in July.

Taking up aspects of the international situation, the two high officials discussed the conflicts in the neighbourhood of Romania. The U.S. concern was emphasised with the stress falling on as close as possible a cooperation for the peaceful resolution of those problems.

Attending the talks and the signature of the treaty for Romania were Constantin Fota, foreign trade and tourism minister, George Danielescu, economic and finance minister, Petre Marculescu, agriculture and food minister, Adrian Severin, president of the National Agency for Privatisation, Mugur Isarescu, governor of the Bank of Romania.

Also attending were Romania's Ambassador to Washington Aurel Dragos Munteanu, and U.S. Ambassador to Bucharest, John Davis Jr.

### Meets With Iliescu, Stolojan

*AU2805201192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/5/1992—Romania's President, Ion Iliescu, received Thursday, May 29, Lawrence Eagleburger, who was visiting Romania.

Ion Iliescu thanked Lawrence Eagleburger for the messages sent on the occasion by President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker and highly appreciated the open, sincere way in which his guest had always approached the problems facing Romania. "We do our best to create a favourable climate in bilateral ties," said President Iliescu.

U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger told the press after his interview with President Ion Iliescu that the United States would go on granting technical assistance to Romania, in view of ever closer ties with "a free, democratic country." As for the most favoured nation status, he mentioned it was going to be submitted to the U.S. Congress soon.

For his part, President Iliescu said the visit of the American delegation was a "major political sign as concerns the political will of the United States and Romania to open a new way in the development of bilateral ties on all planes." President Iliescu mentioned

as "positive, constructive and encouraging signs" the signing of the treaty on promoting and protecting investments, the commercial agreement signed in April and ratified a few days ago by the Romanian Parliament and the decision of the U.S. Administration to contribute ten million dollars as part of a package of funds from the Group of 24 industrialised countries.

Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan received U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger who coordinates the American programme for assistance to Eastern and Central Europe and the new CIS republics.

The Romanian premier thanked for the aid the United States has given Romania so far, stressing that Romania continued its efforts toward applying the economic reform.

"We would like to believe that Romania is a friend of the United States and that the U.S. is a friend of Romania," Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan said after his talks on 28 May with a U.S. delegation led by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. "It is in this framework that we ask the United States that we be given at least the same treatment that the other former socialist countries around Romania enjoy in U.S. aid. I hope that the commercial agreement will be passed by the U.S. Congress just like the agreement on investment promotion and protection that was signed today, so that they can really be a basis for a revival of the economic relations between Romania and the United States."

"I am happy that the American delegation restated its support for Romania, considering that relations with our countries are opening up. However, we were most clearly told what we all know, namely that in America, economic reform problems—not only here, but in all the countries—and democracy problems are inseparable. The test of democracy for us now is to hold free and fair general elections as quickly as possible" Theodor Stolojan ended.

### Government Spokesman Reviews Moldovan Contacts

*AU2805182592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1547 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/5/1992—Before a rather small audience given the fact that many journalists are leaving in the afternoon for Costinesti where an international colloquium opens on the press of transition and the transition of the press, the government spokesman, Iolanda Staniloiu gave her weekly news conference at Victoria Palace on 28 May.

She spoke among other things about the executive's activities during the past week laying the stress on Prime Minister Stolojan's meeting with the Interministerial Committee for Romania's Relations With the Republic of Moldova. The talk considered the actions undertaken so far and a future programme of actions apt to help their expansion and meet immediate needs of the brothers in the Republic of Moldova.

Permanent contacts were established between departments and institutions of Romania and the Republic of Moldova the positive results of which are beginning to show, the spokesman said.

The Interministerial Committee for Romania-Moldova Relations will concentrate on the general growth of the bilateral relations and support for the integration of the two states through practical viable programmes of action that take into account the needs of the Republic of Moldova.

Details were asked about de-blocking of the hard-currency bank deposits, the steps that had been taken to send children to summer resorts at reasonable prices, the cost of medicines etc.

### FSN Favors Elections 'as Soon as Possible'

*AU2905091492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0811 GMT 29 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/5/1992—On Thursday, May 28 during the weekly news conference of the National Salvation Front [FSN] emphasis was placed on that party's firm stand on the importance of holding legislative and presidential elections as soon as possible. In that context economic-financial arguments were given in support of that point of view and which explain all the political compromises having been made by the National Salvation Front parliamentarians until now.

The National Salvation Front fears that the political degradation—caused by the parliamentarians' migration from one party to another, by the microexplosions within various parties, etc.— as well as the economic degradation lead to an eventual instauration in Romania of a military dictatorship or of a presidential republic, supposition made by Eugen Dijmarescu.

Specification was also made that Romania's future parliament should include a limited number of parties. In connection with that institution, stress was laid that an equality sign should not be put between that institution, which is perennial, and the people making it up now.

### Former PNL Senator Discusses Elections

*AU2705152592 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21 May 91 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Senator Emil Tocaci by Ilie Paunescu; place and date not given: "The U.S. Ambassador Warns Us: Romania Will Lose American Investments Worth $5-6 Billion if Elections Are Not Held This Summer"]

[Excerpts] [Paunescu] Mr. Tocaci, I have heard of some calculations made recently, that if we separate the presidential elections from the parliamentary elections, it will cost us a few hundred million lei. I am asking myself

whether, by postponing the elections until next fall, to have presidential elections held together with parliamentary elections, we will lose even more?

[Tocaci] I believe that if the elections are going to be postponed until the fall of 1992, we will lose much more, so that the 500 million lei that the supporters of the postponement are mentioning, becomes an absolutely insignificant sum. Certainly, insignificant in comparison with the huge loss that I would like to talk to you about. Please, allow me to elaborate on this subject further. From several contacts that I have had with well-informed people in Romania and abroad, I could draw the conclusion that the situation is the following: The Most Favored Nation [MFN] status, that the United States is about to grant us, and that is mentioned in the agreement signed in Bucharest, must be validated by the American legislative branch. The American legislative branch will not validate the status before the elections in Romania. We are talking about the parliamentary elections because—although the presidential elections are important—the U.S. Congress attaches the greatest importance to the parliamentary elections, which will be taken as criteria for validating the clause. They are not as interested in the result of the elections as in the correctness of those elections, because the U.S. legislative branch wants to make sure that the elections are correct before granting us the MFN status. This status is important in itself for the economic facilities that it creates, however, it is much more important through its indirect consequences. Once the MFN status is granted, the foreign investors will penetrate Romania. Thus, sums that can be estimated with precision as amounting to 5-6 billion dollars (we are talking about estimates, but anyway, the sums are close to billions of dollars) will come to Romania not as loans but as investments. However, the investors do not have time to wait. The result of it is that if the MFN status is granted too late, these sums will be lost. If the elections are held in the fall, the U.S. legislative branch will be busy with elections in the United States, thus, one can expect that the vote in which we are interested might come in January, maybe even in February 1993. It is obvious that, the investors will not wait until 1993 to come to Romania and then, the sums that might have entered the Romanian economy will end up in other East European countries such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, or Bulgaria. One has to understand that a postponement does not only mean delaying the advantages brought about by the MFN status but also means very big irreversible losses that might have strong negative impact on the Romanian economy. In other words, if the elections are held in July at the latest, we still have the chance to receive an important amount of dollars in the form of investments that we need for the recovery of our economy. If the elections are held in summer we still can expect the validation in the first days of September.

[Paunescu] You are talking about September, as a term when the U.S. Congress wants to vote the MFN status and not as a term for elections in Romania, are you not?

[Tocaci] I believe elections cannot be held in September. If they are not held in July, I believe that they will be held in November, because elections must be preceded by an electoral campaign. I do not believe that anybody will agree to an electoral campaign in August, which is a holiday month. Thus, those who are thinking of half a billion lei should think of billions of dollars. Those who mention the economic factor, as a matter of fact, hit directly and fully our national economy. Excuse me, maybe I am rough or unfair, but I believe that they are aware of this fact and thus, the terrible concern that they show for Romania's financial state is a great pretense, not to use a word that I feel in the air, namely "hypocrisy"—which would probably be more suitable.

[Paunescu] Mr. Tocaci, among those who spoke out for the postponement of elections recently were Mr. Barladeanu and Mr. Campeanu. Mentioning these two names leads me to the subject of your separation from Mr. Campeanu. What made you leave the National Liberal Party [PNL]?

[Tocaci] In various interviews and declarations I justified my move and I mentioned—and I will mention it again—that it was very painful for me to withdraw from the PNL. I am still filled with sorrow that I had to do it. I do not regret what I did, only the fact that I had to do it. I said, and I want to repeat, that I believe that, as a matter of fact, at this moment Romania has reached a crossroads with very great implications for its near and long-term future. This is a moment for options. All those who want a certain road for their country must be united in a joint effort to defeat what we believe is against our country's interests. The priority is certainly the national ideal and, that is why I favored the PNL's continuous participation in the Democratic Convention. The PNL's withdrawal from the Democratic Convention touched me greatly, but more than that, I was angered by the way in which the withdrawal was made. If the negotiations had been carried out honestly and had led to the conclusion that we could not understand each other, then the withdrawal from the Convention would have seemed justified, before our own conscience as liberals and before the nation. These negotiations have not been held. Action was taken in light of the irregularities that characterized the negotiations for local elections and, to a great extent, I believe that action was taken under the harmful influence of certain marked PNL members, of whom one is a very recent liberal, coming directly from the top of the National Salvation Front. I am talking about Mr. Botnaru. The withdrawal from the Democratic Convention and the way in which this act was carried out forced my actions.

[Paunescu] You are not only one of the marked national liberals, but you are also one of the important politicians of Romania. I hope that your withdrawal from the PNL does not mean that you also want to give up politics because this would be a great loss for all of us. What are you intentions for the future?

[Tocaci] Although I want to thank you for what you said about my contribution to the political life of our country, I have considered and continue to considered the possibility to leave the Romanian political scene.

[Paunescu] Why?

[Tocaci] I cannot say that I made a definite decision in this respect, but in considering my future this possibility is not excluded. It is very complicated to explain my reasoning. Nevertheless, I will try to tell you. When I started political life, I did not do it for one party or another. I was invited to run as an independent candidate on the PNL list. I accepted this offer thinking that I could make a contribution—no matter how modest, but not equal with zero—to the democratization of the country. I thought that all those who have certain feelings must take actions as well, not only have ideas. It is very true that after I joined the PNL when I became a senator, I started liking that party and I was even proud of being a member. Since I was forced by events to leave the party, I connected this act with an attempt to leave the political scene. However, if I continue to stay in the political life, I will be forced to turn toward groups that are included in the Democratic Convention. [passage omitted]

## Split in Student Movement Acknowledged

*AU2805175792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1119 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/5/1992—With every passing day the student movement sinks ever deeper into a centrifugal process whose results are, for the time being, difficult to estimate, notes the daily "TINERETUL LIBER" in a feature published in its Thursday, May 28 issue.

Initially grouped around two nuclei—"UNIS," the National Independent Student Union, considered as pro-governmental, and "CNLS," the National Student Leagues Confederation, considered as pro-opposition, the student movement, reads the newspaper, is now split by the acceptance or rejection of the idea of the student organizations' political commitment.

The conflict started at the CNLS congress, which took place over April 17-19, when it became visible that two distinct groups existed, with different opinions concerning the role of the student movement at this time.

The political activity of Marian Munteanu—one of the main leaders of the University Square marathon-demonstration in June 1990 and of the "Movement for Romania" (MPR) political party, which he founded, is regarded by important student organizations as the main cause for the scission in the student movement, because many of the CNLS leaders are also members of that party, who would thus be trying to infiltrate the student organizations "through the back door."

CNLS, lately become the National Confederation of the Student Organizations in Romania, recommended that the students who wish to make politics join the youth organizations of the political parties they adhere to, writes the author of the feature, who considers this is a false view.

According to the statements of its leader, MPR, who became a juridical person in January this year, recognizes Romania's Constitution and is a party "based on the ideas of Romanianism and democracy against an Orthodox-Christian background" and aims to promote the concept of national-democracy.

## 'Horrific Destruction,' Fighting Continue

### General Seeks Capture of 'Monster'

*LD2705140392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 May (TANJUG)—General Nedjo Boskovic, who is in Sarajevo for negotiations about the withdrawal of the army from its barracks in Sarajevo, stated on Bosnia-Hercegovina television today, in response to an unprecedented massacre of people in the center of Sarajevo, that both the perpetrator and the person who issued such an order must be found.

General Boskovic said it is difficult to comprehend the kind of monster capable of firing at people who have left their cellars and shelters to buy bread in order to survive.

Boskovic said that as he was not on the scene of the event and could not tell from which direction the grenade was fired, it would not be objective to state at present who was responsible for this act.

If the perpetrator belongs to the Serb army of General Mladic, who in any case has issued an order to the army to end all their activities, he will be found quickly and brought before the public and to trial, General Boskovic said. He added that the Bosnia-Hercegovina territorial defense force includes irregular units which are not controlled by their commands.

These paramilitary units comprise people from the outside, from Sandzak, Kosovo, and it is they who are contributing most to this bloodshed. Hence, Boskovic added, I alone cannot establish who committed this misdeed.

As to why the negotiations on the further withdrawal from Sarajevo's barracks are going so well, General Boskovic said that thanks to Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic and the other members of the negotiating team, the talks have gotten off to a good start. They are proceeding nicely because of what he called minor issues compared to what is really important.

Boskovic voiced his belief that the problem of withdrawing from the barracks will be solved successfully. He has been tasked by the command and presidency with devising a peaceful solution, he said.

An end should be put to this tragic war, he added, because Sarajevo, which has turned into a ghost town, is being threatened by cholera and other diseases, so representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government and the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina must sit down and reach an agreement.

### Red Cross To Meet Opposing Sides

*LD2805193492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 28 May 92*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has called another meeting with representatives of the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the three ethnic communities in this war-torn former Yugoslav republic to review a plan for humanitarian actions. An ICRC statement released on Thursday [28 May] says the meeting has been scheduled for May 30 in Geneva. ICRC representatives met last week in Geneva with representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina's Muslim, Serb, and Croat communities.

Although the parties to the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict had taken upon themselves to honour and ensure the respect of the basic principles of international humanitarian law, the escalation of violence there does not show any signs of abating, the statement says. The ICRC says that the plan will be implemented only when the warring sides offer formal guarantees that they will honour the agreevent reached last week.

The initiative followed an ICRC decision on Wednesday [27 May] to withdraw its delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina. The explanation offered was that the delegates could not operate "when the most fundamental rights of victims and especially of the threatened groups are being versistently and deliberately violated."

Interethnic armed clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina have been going on for almost two months.

### Muslims 'Brutally' Violate Agreement

*LD2805101792 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0915 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] [no dateline as received] Following an agreement between General Boskovic and Alija Izetbegovic on the withdrawal of the army from the Jusuf Dzonlic barracks, the Muslim side brutally violated this agreement when it attacked soldiers leaving the barracks. Representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] have again demonstrated an enormous amount of naivety and inability to comprehend the Islamic element in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic made a promise to Boskovic knowing that he would not keep it as on so many occasions before. Or is it that Izetbegovic's rule is simply limited to Bascarsija [old predominantly Muslim part of Sarajevo] alone?

General Boskovic was promised that the soldiers would be allowed to leave the barracks unhindered. However, the Green Berets launched a fierce attack on a column which was leaving the barracks and which was totally unprepared to engage in combat.

Members of the Green Berets broke into the barracks perimeter inflicting, according to initial estimates, great losses on the JNA.

In view of all this Izetbegovic should put Green Berets under his control and adhere to international agreements. Otherwise, the international public must force

Izetbegovic to step down as he no longer has the control of the Muslim forces or put pressure on him to stick to agreements in line with civilizational norms.

### Army Commander Doubts Explosion

*LD2805103792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0942 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)—Claims that a mortar bomb or shell exploded in the center of Sarajevo this morning are debatable because the damages, which are mostly to the lower extremities, do not point to either a bomb or a shell. However, as there is no crater or remnants of bombs or shells it is possible that an antiinfantry cluster grenade [protivpesadijska rasprskavajuca mina usmerenog dejstva] was activated, Lieutenant Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the army of the Serb Bosnia-Hercegovina, said in a Belgrade TV news bulletin late last night.

The Green Berets could have easily obtained such grenades after their attack on the army weapons dump at Zrnovnica, General Mladic said explaining his view of the explosion yesterday on Vase Miskina Street in which 16 Sarajevo citizens were killed and 114 injured.

General Mladic said that it is surprising how quickly a Sarajevo TV crew appeared on the scene, as if something had been expected.

In reference to a recent massacre of Serbs in Pofalici (a Sarajevo northern suburb) General Mladic said that it provoked no reaction in the world although several hundred people were massacred on that occasion.

### Serb Leader Denies Involvement

*LD2805111792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1028 GMT 28 May 92*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Sarajevo, May 28 (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina's Serb leader Momcilo Krajisnik describes as pure fabrication allegations of Serbs' involvement in an explosion in Sarajevo on Wednesday [27 May] which killed 16 and wounded 114.

The victims, civilian residents of the capital of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, were killed by a shell while queueing up for bread.

In letters addressed on Wednesday to the chairman of the European Community-sponsored conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington, chairman of the E.C.-sponsored Conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina Jose Cutileiro, E.C. Ministerial Council President Joao de Deus Pinheiro, U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Ghali and U.N. envoy to Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance, Krajisnik describes the Wednesday explosion as a monstrosity.

Krajisnik is the president of the parliament of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which has been proclaimed by the republic's Serbs in response to the European Community's recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent state at the request of the republic's Muslim-Croat coalition.

Krajisnik firmly denies that the army of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina fired a single projectile on Sarajevo.

"On the contrary, we have introduced very strict measures to prevent any cease-fire violation," Krajisnik says and adds that the Serb forces are fully under control.

Krajisnik maintains that the blast in Sarajevo is a criminal act aimed at undermining the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina which has been convened in an effort to help the republic's three constitutive nations—Serbs, Croats and Muslims—to reach agreement on the future constitutional organization of the republic.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has been torn by fierce interethnic fighting for the past six weeks.

The crime in Sarajevo was committed by the side which does not want to resolve the problems through talks or in conferences, says Krajisnik in his letters, and adds that it was an attempt to provoke a foreign military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

On several occasions, the republic's Muslims have tried to undermine the Lisbon conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina by either not attending its sessions or walking out. On Tuesday [26 May], a day before the explosion, the Muslim delegation announced it was withdrawing from the latest round of the conference and on Wednesday actually walked out, quoting the explosion as their pretext.

### Army To Evacuate Tito Barracks

*LD2805122192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1104 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Sarajevo, May 28 (TANJUG)—Sarajevo was relatively quiet at dawn on Thursday [28 May], but snipers are still active in some parts of the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Under an agreement reached with the republican authorities, the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) is set to evacuate the Marshal Tito Barracks in Sarajevo today, Bosnia-Hercegovina radio said on Thursday.

The radio said that the Jusuf Dzunlic Barracks near Sarajevo had been evacuated on Wednesday [27 May] without a single incident.

The Moslem paramilitary formations have from the beginning of May killed eight and wounded several dozen JNA servicemen in Sarajevo. They also killed at least 39 JNA soldiers and wounded several dozen in Tuzla, northern Bosnia-Hercegovina, in attacks on convoys evacuating their barracks.

The evacuations were carried out on the basis of previous agreements between the JNA and Bosnia-Hercegovina's Moslem-Croat authorities which the Moslems' paramilitary formations did not honour.

The night between Wednesday and Thursday in Sarajevo passed in the sign of fierce small-arms and artillery exchanges. Fire broke out at several locations, including the Marshal Tito Barracks, which was hit by artillery fire, the radio said.

No deaths have been reported thus far.

### Dobrinja Shelled; Barracks Evacuated

*AU2805125792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 May 92*

[Edin Kukavica report from the Territorial Defense Information Service]

[Text] Sarajevo and the world are still under the impression of yesterday's crime, when shells [granata] fired by Serbian extremists at the center of the city killed 18 and wounded more than 160 people. Unfortunately, as was expected, this unprecedented act was only an introduction to a heavy artillery cannonade that reverberated through the city from afternoon until after midnight.

Dobrinja has experienced heavy destruction again. Shells were launched from Vraca and Trebevic on Velezici and Kosevsko Brdo. Fire was opened from the Marshal Tito barracks over the railroad station. However, that fire was responded to. To make the chaos complete, Chetniks also opened fire from Vraca at the Marshal Tito barracks.

During the night, buildings in the [word indistinct] complex, as well as a technical school in the vicinity were set on fire.

Yesterday evening, the Jusuf Dzonlic barracks in Nedjarici was finally evacuated. This convoy was [words indistinct] because the so-called Yugoslav People's Army dragged out this withdrawal in various ways. Last night, a column of trucks with soldiers left [the barracks] in the direction of Ilidza instead of Lukavica as had been agreed. The reason was allegedly the fighting that was being waged in Dobrinja at the time. Heavy weapons (?mortars and equipment), which now belong to the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, were left in the barracks.

Negotiations are under way again on the evacuation of the Marshal Tito barracks. We shall probably give some new details later about negotiations and the possible movements of the former Yugoslav Army.

### Lost Convoy, Explosion Reported

*AU2805152192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 May 92*

[Risto Djogo report]

[Text] There has been fierce fighting this afternoon in Novi Grad and Novo Sarajevo. Mortar shells are falling on Cengic Vila, Otoka, and Dobrinja. Mortars are also being fired in the direction of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Radio and Television building. This is no surprise if one knows that last night the media reported that Serbs were attacking the Marshal Tito barracks. In fact, a coordinated attack was carried out last night on the Marshal Tito barracks. Muslim Green Berets attacked with mortars between 2100 GMT and 0100. They succeeded in setting afire one building in the barracks complex, but this had no serious consequences for the soldiers, cadets, and civilians. The response was fierce, so the Muslim forces around the barracks were quiet this morning.

The scheduled evacuation of the Jusuf Dzonlic Barracks was carried out last night. General Boskovic repeated for the umpteenth time a typical army mistake: He believed Alija Izetbegovic. After the experience with the Second Military District Command, there simply cannot be any justification whatsoever for any general who believes Izetbegovic. With absolutely no protection, Boskovic allowed a convoy of 156 trucks to set off for Lukavica. Green Berets surrounded it and broke it into three parts. Some 24 trucks arrived in Lukavica, 50 in Ilidza, and the Green Berets took the rest to the recently surrendered Viktor Bubanj Barracks.

If there is anything positive in everything that happened, it seems that this is in the fact that most of the personnel were saved, as many as two thirds, and that only one soldier is known to have died.

Everyone in the convoy is claiming that Boskovic is solely to blame for everything that happened last night. Boskovic promised Muslim units two million bullets and 15,000 guns as part of the division of assets. This all would have been sent from Pale.

Such behavior has caused indignation among the Serbian fighters who are increasingly losing confidence in the federal army. Biljana Plavsic, member of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, called the behavior of Boskovic and some other generals betrayal of the Serbian people.

More and more is coming to light about yesterday's crime against civilians on Vase Miskina Street. General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serbian army of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated this morning that on the basis of film footage, it was obvious that this could not have been done with mortars. Those who were wounded were wounded in their lower extremities. It is impossible for mortars to only wound people in the legs. This was obviously a bomb attack [miniranje], Mladic claimed, particularly since the surrounding buildings were undamaged.

Otherwise, it is known that evacuation of the population took place two hours before the despicable crime in the center of Sarajevo which Alija Izetbegovic obviously used for political purposes: to interrupt the Lisbon conference where an agreement was to be signed making

Bosnia-Hercegovina confederal [illegible] Izetbegovic is taking every opportunity to [illegible] agreement. Izetbegovic simply wants a military [illegible] even at the price of the kind of casualties that occurred on Vase Miskina Street yesterday.

A convoy of humanitarian aid left from [illegible] toward the Muslim part of Sarajevo. The Serbian forces which are only called Chetniks in the Muslim and Croatian part, are allowing the aid to get through to the Muslim part of Sarajevo, but it is not [illegible] whether the other side is doing this.

There are more and more [illegible] as well as hunger.

### Tito Barracks Evacuation in Doubt

*LD2805170492 Zagreb Radio 1 Network [illegible] in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 28 May 92*

[Slavko Rako report]

[Excerpt] At about 1300 fire was opened from the Marshal Tito barracks on all moving targets in the nearby streets. This appears to be in response to the attempt by Bosnia-Hercegovina representatives to reach an agreement on the evacuation, just one day after fighting at the Jusuf Dzonlic barracks last night. It does not look as if an agreement can be reached today.

The talks were unilaterally interrupted by the aggressor. During the evacuation of the Jusuf Dzonlic barracks yesterday representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense were tricked [illegible] of leaving the barracks with only personal weapons, [illegible] pulled out almost all the weapons. The vehicles [illegible] were either damaged or destroyed. [illegible] in the direction of Lukavica the column was [illegible] positions of Serbian terrorists in Nedarici and [illegible]. The terrorists opened fire at the column in order to provoke a conflict.

Sarajevo was under attack from all [illegible] overnight. Terrorists opened fire on the Marshal Tito barracks itself, which caught fire. Heavy artillery was launched from the barracks on the [illegible] which were set ablaze. Two [illegible] five civilians injured in three attacks. [illegible] artillery attack on Vrbanja and the [illegible] bridge was repelled. [passage omitted]

### Karadzic Regrets Lack of Progress

*LD2805204292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1817 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The [illegible] European pressure on the leaders of the Serbian [illegible] Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, who is [illegible] advocating the war option, is a [illegible]

In the area of Mostar, the other side attacked units and facilities of the Hercegovina corps from suburban settlements and nearby plces. Croatian-Muslim formations are receiving support and bringing in fresh forces.

President of the Muslim-Croatian Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina and leader of the Muslims Alija Izetbegovic once again called on Muslims to go to war. In a statement on Wednesday's explosion in the centre of Sarajevo which killed 16 and injured over 100 people, Izetbegovic called on the citizens "to use all means."

Leader of the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina Krajisnik assessed as "sheer misinformation" claims accusing the Serbian side of responsibility for yesterday's explosion.

"On the contrary, we have introduced very strict measures in order to prevent all cease-fire violations," said Krajisnik, adding that the Serbian forces "were totally under control."

Krajisnik described the explosion in Sarajevo as "a criminal act" aimed at undermining the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, at which the representatives of the three constituent nations—the Serbs, Croats and Muslims should come to an agreement on the republic's future constitutional organization with the mediation of the European Community (EC).

The explosion in Sarajevo occured after it had been announced in Lisbon that an agreement was in sight, and after Sarajevo reported that the Muslim representatives were leaving the negotitions. Representatives of Muslims, numerically the strongest nation, urge for a unitarian Islamic tate in the middle of the Balkans.

General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina army, said that claims according to which the mortar which exploded in the center of Sarajevo was fired from Serb-held positions above the city, were "[word indistinct] because most of the injuries were leg injuries. There is also no evidece of a crater or shrapnel, so that it is possible that an antipersonnel or dispersing directional mine was activated," said General Mladic.

There has been no peace in the territory of the Serbian community of Zvornik, in northeastern Bosnia-Hercegovina on the very border with Serbia, for the past three days. The Serbian Territorial Defence Crisis Committee said that six of their soldiers had been wounded in battles but that there were no dead, and that the Muslim-Croatian forces were "practically encircled."

### Statement Issued on Dzonlic Evacuation

*LD2905011692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2124 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Sarajevo, 28 May (TANJUG)—In connection with the misinformation about the evacuation of members of the Jusuf Dzonlic Barracks in Sarajevo, Flight General Nedeljko Boskovic gave the following statement to TANJUG this evening:

I personally conducted the evacuation of soldiers, officers, and civilians kept prisoner in the Jusuf Dzonlic Barracks in Sarajevo, following the agreement reached with the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Because we were in possession of operational documents according to which an attack was being prepared for that night using all available weapons, including flamethrowers, on the Jusuf Dzonlic Barracks, the evacuation of 176 members of the barracks, as well as 160 vehicles with equipment and personal weapons, started last night, 27 May, at 1930.

Immediately before the column was due to leave the barracks, and on the demand of responsible officers from the main headquarters of the Army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the previously arranged route of the column—the safety of which had been guaranteed by the Bosnian Government—was altered.

This brought a certain amount of confusion among some of the drivers. Members of the Green Berets and other armed forces took advantage of this, threatening soldiers drivers with weapons and force, throwing them out of the army vehicles and replacing them with their own men. These groups, which are otherwise outside anyone's control, drove a certain number of army vehicles in various directions. In this way the column was broken and its substantial part was attacked outside Ilidza by armed civilians and paramilitary formations. Unfortunately, soldier Blagota Ljujic from the Prijepolje area was killed in the attack.

Part of the column that evening managed to reach safety in the Lukavica barracks. In the afternoon today, accompanied by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the remaining members of the Jusuf Dzonlic Barracks, who spent the night in Ilidza, arrived safely in Lukavica Barracks.

Any other information about the evacuaton of soldiers from the Jusuf Dzonlic Barracks in Sarajevo is completely false and unfounded. We will do everything in our power, together with the competent bodies, to evacuate all our members from the Marshal Tito and Pazaric Barracks in Sarajevo, Flight General Nedeljko Boskovic said in conclusion.

### 'Serbian Republic' Blames Muslims

*LD2805225392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2216 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)—The government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is in possession of reliable information that yesterday's massacre in Vasa Miskin Street was sabotage, said Velibor Ostojic, prime minister of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at today's news conference in Pale, the SRNA Serbian news agency reported this evening.

SRNA reports Minister Ostojic as claiming that "Muslim extremists Mirza Jamakovic and Rusmir

Hanjic laid land mines which they activated when residents of Sarajevo were lining up for bread." This operation, SRNA quotes Ostojic, was carried out on the orders of Alija Delimustafic, who is the minister of internal affairs in the Bosnia-Hercegovina government, in which there are no representatives of the Serbian people.

SRNA adds that Momcilo Mandic, minister of justice in the government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, announced that the Serbian Government "filed a demand for urgent replacement of General Boskovic as negotiator," because he negotiated the evacuation of the Jusuf Dzonlic barracks on his own.

SRNA announced that Minister Mandic will meet Jerko Doko and Jusuf Pusin tomorrow in an effort to reach an agreement on the lifting of the blockade and the opening of Butmir airport to planes carrying humanitarian aid.

According to Mandic the airport equipment was preserved. Should all conditions be created, Butmir could be opened to traffic in 48 hours' time.

### Muslim, Croat Extremists Accused

*LD2905095392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2046 GMT 28 May 92*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina said the crime in Sarajevo, where 16 people were killed and 114 wounded in an explosion on Wednesday [27 May], "was prepared in the heads of extremists" from the ranks of the ruling parties of Moslem and Croats "whom not a single hour of truce suits," the News Agency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina SRNA said on Thursday [28 May]. [Word indistinct] Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina have formed their own republic in territories where they are a majority population, not accepting Bosnia- Hercegovina's secession from Yugoslavia and it being a unitary state in which they would be outvoted in decisionmaking by the Moslems and the Croats.

The Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina said in a statement carried by SRNA on Thursday that the bloodshed in Sarajevo was "an act of insanity which surpasses everything seen so far in the religious war being waged in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Innocent citizens were massacred because it was in the interests of "those who launched the Jihad and want, at all costs, to obstruct the negotiations and the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis," said the statement of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which called on the world to understand that it was "dealing with revived Islamic fanatics."

### Territorial Defense Asks For Mobilization

*LD2905131392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1205 GMT 29 May 92*

[Text] The commander of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina has ordered the immediate mobilization of all units of the Defense Force in 10 districts of Sarajevo. His second in command has announced that after last night's heavy fighting, they expect another attack as the moments of quiet are being used by the enemy to strengthen their positions in order to attack with even more force. The shelling so far has been directed toward the building of the Bosnia and Hercegovina Presidency and the street in which President Izetbegovic lives. The presidential building has been totally destroyed as mortars and rockets have fallen through the roofs and around the sides. The offices inside are burned out and only one telephone is working.

It is thought that in the last attack over 2,000 artillery rounds and rockets of 155-mm caliber have been launched onto Sarayevo. As well as the presidential buildings, churches and mosques have been targeted, and it is hard to find a building that has not been damaged.

We have just heard that another artillery attack commenced on the city at midday and that the air raid warning was also sounded.

### Night of 28 May Deemed 'Hell'

*AU2905125392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 May 92*

[Excerpt] Last night, Sarajevo was hell again. If we remember 26 May as the day when most casualties occurred, then 28 May will be remembered for horrific destruction. This town was brutally hit last night with multiple rocket-launchers, guns, mortars, antiaircraft machine guns, and everything else that the animals in the guise of humans had in the (?districts) around Sarajevo.

Dozens of wounded arrived in the Sarajevo hospital overnight. Many houses and businesses were on fire. We were not even able to find out what we had lost when we (?had to go) back to shelters. At approximately 0930 GMT the alarm was raised of the possibility of a general attack. [passage omitted]

### SDA Vice President Opposes Cantonization

*AU2905072392 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 27-28 May 92 p 4*

[Inge Bacher-Dalma report: "Wounded Beauty Queen"]

[Text] He is the right hand of Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic: Salim Sabic, vice president of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]. The 56-year-old Bosnian is heading the branch office of the Muslim party in Zagreb; there are also branch offices in Macedonia and Kosovo.

"Bosnia-Hercegovina is a wounded beauty queen. The world recognized us morally and under international law because of our love for peace. We fulfilled all democratic conditions of the international bodies. Yet the war hit us," Sabic points out and refers to the contrary example of Croatia, where military defense preceded recognition.

Salim Sabic is actively participating in the Bosnian-Croatian strategy of rapprochement. He is one of the authors of the declaration of intent of Split of 16 May, where the vision of a confederation according to the Benelux example was drafted. "There is a real basis for the concept. However, we are thinking of an alliance between two sovereign states, close cooperation in the economic and cultural field—by no means joint armed forces," Sabic explained.

The Bosnians (the Bosnian-Hercegovina citizens from all three ethnic groups) dislike the "cantonization" of the country. According to Sabic, a division would delay peace. From his point of view, it would inevitably lead to expulsions and massacres, which would again result in revenge actions. A considerable part of the Serbian Bosnians also advocate the country's unity, but they cannot yet express this because of the great danger, the politician asserted.

"We will win," Sabic stated optimistically. Bosnia-Hercegovina is going to establish a defensive army of its own; the commander in chief is a Bosnian Croat, who is assisted by a Muslim and a Serb. Those 20,000 Islamic Bosnians who fought in Croatia last year only returned home to defend their own villages. However, there are no units of the regular Croatian forces in the present war in Bosnia, affirmed Salim Sabic.

Bosnia expects the powerful of the world "to clearly punish the aggressor." Sabic says that the refugee question is "a European problem," which can only be "eliminated at the (Belgrade) root. The Bosnians will continue to fight for their existence and later pay back help from abroad, he said.

## Bankers Meeting Concludes Treasury Empty

*LD2705212292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 May (TANJUG)—A meeting of bankers and representatives of the Social Accountancy Service of Bosnia-Hercegovina was held in the republican National Bank today. The meeting concluded that the republican treasury is without money.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia refused to send money to Bosnia- Hercegovina, although it was agreed that the republic would remain in the Yugoslav monetary supply system until the third quarter of this year. As a result of the war, but also for other technical reasons, Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot print its own money at this moment.

## 'Aggressive' Use of Media Propaganda Examined

*92BA0909C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 92 p 4*

[Article by Zeljko Vukovic: "All Shades Except the Redness of Shame"]

[Text] Sarajevo—Aggressive propaganda and news blockades are a strategic weapon even in the Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] war. In spite of the amateurism of those who fabricate disinformation and censors, their effect up to now has already had disastrous consequences (incidentally, even in this war there are quite a few people willing to respond to a lie by making it reality). Unfortunately, people also believe news whose accuracy is not confirmed even by the laws of physics.

The Serbian side has gained a convincing superiority in the propaganda war by force of arms. By occupying the numerous relay stations of TV Sarajevo within B-H and turning them toward Serbia and the television broadcasting there, the range of Sarajevo television has literally been reduced to just the vicinity of the city on the Miljacka. In practical terms, only the broadcasting of TV Serbia can be viewed on half the territory of B-H. For some 20 days now, SRNA (the Serbian News Agency) has been in operation and the radio of the Serbian Republic of B-H, and Serbian television headquartered in Pale went into operation the day before yesterday.

What do news consumers broadcast by those media not know that they should know if they want the facts? As far as the war in Sarajevo is concerned, the aggressors are beyond doubt the Serbian Armed Forces and some of the army units. From the outset, the Serbian side has systematically been destroying vital facilities in the city—the post office, the television studios, the municipal transportation enterprise... at the same time holding all the exits from the city under strong military control. Radovan Karadzic "justified" the fact that numerous houses and apartments, shops, and streets are being mercilessly destroyed in terms of the poor training of the gunners, which is unprecedented cynicism, although, to be sure, it fits with the harshness with which the Serbian warriors have been destroying Sarajevo and killing innocent civilians.

### Exaggeration and Concealment of Information

To go on, the Serbian side, for example, is concealing the fact that it is forcibly recruiting and arming Serbian civilians in parts of the city which it controls, that it is systematically exerting pressure (by provoking street fights, by apartment searches, by temporary arrest...) on the non-Serb inhabitants so that they will move out of those areas.

An almost identical project is being carried out (or has already been completed) in the area of eastern Bosnia. The aggressiveness with which that area has been "liberated" has resulted in a large-scale exodus of the Muslim population, which had a majority there. It is

beyond dispute that the other side also shoots first quite often, but these are incidents which by no means can conceal, much less justify, what has later been done and is now being done by the "Serbian revolutionary authority."

Croatian propaganda is almost entirely directed toward the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and is being conducted according to the tried and true pattern developed in the war in Croatia. The journals of the Croatian parties and the republic media in B-H are mainly used. Organized attacks on garrisons and the provoking of conflicts with the army are simply passed over in silence. Likewise, the fact that the "Croatian revolutionary authority" is doing everything to make life impossible for the Serbs in its region (the massacre of Serbs in Kupres...).

The pop star of that propaganda is Stjepan Kljuic, member of the B-H Presidency. His attempt to initiate a general war against the army, quite understandably, has not succeeded. However, his public statements, devoid of the influence of even good manners, are having an effect in the extreme segment of opponents of the JNA and SDS [Serbian Democratic Party]. It is indicative that leaders of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] of B-H have been saying almost nothing in public about events outside Croatian territory that has already been taken. Because it has long been clear that Kljuic is operating more as a representative of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] than of the HDZ (which before this war had practically disowned him)—his propaganda activity mainly serves as a kind of disguise for the fact that the Croatian side has turned over the main propaganda job to its partner, the SDA.

**Information Without Correction**

The Democratic Action Party and its propagandists have under their total control only Sarajevo city television, "Hajat," but thanks to the very concept of propaganda, it is also making successful and abundant use of all the government republic media. The essence of that propaganda is to create the impression that the SDA and its officials are the only ones defending B-H. In doing this, they insist particularly on promoting Alija Izetbegovic as the chief of state, a man above parties and a peacemaker. This kind of indirect amnesty, relieving the SDA and Izetbegovic of responsibility for the chaos of war in B-H, is increasingly aggressive.

The International Press Center, BH press (a newly formed news agency) and the information offices of territorial defense headquarters of B-H and public security stations are places from which the desired picture of reality in Sarajevo and B-H is created. Because the information is presented by officials, that propaganda is given an official dimension, which, of course, is only the way it appears.

That propaganda does not pass any news that would indicate what the Croatian side is doing in the war. Nor is there any news about what is actually happening with the republic government. Facts are being concealed which could even be established by looking out the window. One illustrative example is the silence about the attack on the convoy of the JNA which, under agreement with and escorted by UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force], was withdrawing from the command headquarters of the 2d Army District. An attempt was made to conceal even that incident, which even Mark Goulding called a brutal attack giving evidence of the dirty war. It was mentioned later, but it has never been made public how many soldiers were killed at that time and in what manner they were killed.

The republic media do not say that the B-H territorial defense also possesses stronger weapons and rifles and automatic weapons and that it is using them abundantly in the fight against the Serbian Armed Forces and the JNA. Shells and grenades from the weapons of territorial defense are also destroying houses and apartments, but nothing is said about that. Three days ago, for example, one such shell hit an apartment in Lenin Street in Sarajevo and killed a five-year-old girl. Because this was a part of the city held by Serbian Armed Forces, the public was informed that the shell was fired from a tank of the JNA, which was literally impossible.

The propaganda of the SDA, however it might be dressed in a government uniform, is just as subject to verification as the rest. It mainly uses as its source "information from citizens," which in itself arouses curiosity and leads to a verification of those who live in the building or street where what was reported occurred. Even though the corrections are rarely broadcast, the inaccurate information arouses a priori suspicion of everything that cannot be accurately or reliably checked.

## Foreign Minister Comments on Nonaligned Meeting

*AU2705182592 Zagreb HRVATSKO SLOVO in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 92 p 3*

[B.P. report: "Croatia's Position Strengthened"]

[Text] Zagreb—"I believe that we achieved more than we had expected to [illegible]," Dr. Zvonimir Separovic, Croatian minister for foreign affairs and vice premier, told a news conference at the Zagreb airport following the Croatian delegation's return from the meeting of foreign ministers of foreign affairs from countries of Asia and Indonesia.

"Croatia's position among countries that are members of the Nonaligned Movement, and especially the strengthened position of the former Yugoslavia [illegible]," Foreign Minister Separovic added. "Croatia's status in the Nonaligned Movement has been [illegible] (Slovenia's is a guest status). The door is now open for Croatia's membership in the UN," Separovic stressed, adding that, according to [illegible] most UN member countries support Croatia's membership.

"The negative reservations of the Nonaligned Movement toward Croatia, [illegible] as well as [illegible] attitude toward the former Yugoslavia as one of the founders of the movement," Separovic said further. Croatia had been treated as an [illegible] guest, Separovic said, but although Indonesia could have, as the host country, prevented Croatia's presence at the conference, it did not do so, [illegible] by Separovic. "Indonesia, along with [illegible], welcomed Croatia at the end of the conference, which gave us extreme pleasure."

[illegible] had a symbolic presence at the conference in the shape of Borisav Jovic, and, unfortunately, Ambassador Kapetanovic, ambassador of the former Yugoslavia was also present, Separovic added. However, Yugoslavia was denied the presiding seat at the conference. [illegible] the conference's time was devoted to the problems of former Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to the current status of Croatia, Slovenia, and [illegible] with expressions of support.

[illegible] of the Nonaligned statement that [illegible] should pull its forces out of Bosnia-Herzegovina at once, and instead the formulation was [illegible] should be pulled out from that republic, Separovic said. He added that, considering the already [illegible] attitude towards Yugoslavia, no more [illegible] expected.

Separovic emphasized that the decision to grant Croatia observer status in the Nonaligned Movement was [illegible] special committee, which was to [illegible] shortly.

[illegible] that regarding Croatia's acquiring [illegible] in the Nonaligned Movement, Croatia has already managed to obtain the support from [illegible] countries from Asia, South America, and some Islamic and Arab countries. Croatia [illegible] to gain support from the Sub-Saharan African countries and some diplomatic activities [illegible]. "We met resistance, but we did [illegible] of these countries were not properly [illegible] information," Separovic said.

[illegible] Movement is ready to accept the new [illegible] which has been proved by the [illegible] that Croatia will be given observer [illegible], Separovic says. Following the [illegible] of Yugoslavia, the positive attitude [illegible] countries, according to the Croatian delegation, [illegible] the Nonaligned Movement is ready to

adjust to these new realities, which have led to the disappearance of the bipolar structure of the world.

"The Third World is transforming and is generally looking for a new place in this unipolar world, as it was called at the conference in Indonesia," Separovic adds. For example, the Nonaligned countries have been asking for changes in the structure of the UN, particularly in the Security Council, and for cooperation on the North-South level and cooperation among the countries from the South.

"Croatia is a Central European and Mediterranean country," Separovic emphasizes," but it has an interest in cooperation with everyone, including the Nonaligned Movement. "We are willing," Separovic says, "to be observers in the movement." Croatia's presence at the conference in Indonesia was a significant moment for the country, because it showed in practice that Croatia is open to the whole world.

### Croatian Attacks in Serb Krajina 'Repulsed'

*LD2905081292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0124 GMT 29 May 92*

[Text] Knin, May 29 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army and the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) on Thursday night repulsed Croatian Army attacks on the dam on Lake Peruca in the region of Sinj in the southern sector of the Dalmatian front, the commander of the Knin corps, Major-General Savo Kovacevic, has informed.

General Kovacevic said that in the fighting, which broke out on Thursday morning, the Yugoslav and RSK forces had one killed and one wounded.

"The dam on Lake Peruca was directly threatened," said General Kovacevic and pointed up the senselessness of the Croatian side continuing to impute to the other side an intention to blow up the dam and cause an environmental disaster in the situation when the dam is being defended by the accused side.

Croatian armed forces launched the battle of the dam on the eve of a visit to Knin of the commander of the United Nations' Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR), Indian Army General Satish Nambiar, for final consultations on the deployment of UNPROFOR troops in sector south.

### Serbian Regional Council To Move to Vukovar

*LD2605213792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1813 GMT 26 May*

[Text] Erdut, 26 May (TANJUG)—The Regional Council, in its capacity as the organ of the Grand People's Assembly of the Serbian regions of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, has been established and has successfully carried out its sensitive tasks over the past few days, said President Milan Ilic today in Erdut, the Council's seat.

We expect, he stressed, that the Regional Council will be transferred within the next few days to Vukovar, where its future seat will be.

The Council was constituted by appointing Vice President Dragica Dasic, as well as six secretaries, in charge of certain areas. Aides and advisers to each secretariat are most mobile because they are in constant contact with the municipal authorities and resolve directly the many complex issues the civilian authorities have to tackle.

The president of the Regional Council says that definitely the most crucial question is the creation of conditions for the return to the Serbian region of all those who fled their homes at the time of the fiercest combat activities. Apart from this, a great deal of work is needed to create conditions for normal living for the 15,000 to 17,000 refugees from Western Slavonia who have found refuge in the Serbian region, particularly in Baranja.

The security of all citizens in the Serbian region, Ilic stresses, except UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] forces, is ensured by the numerous police forces of the Republic of Serbian Krajina who are gradually taking over key positions. Regular and special police forces have also been set up. The regular police forces are entrusted with maintaining peace and security in built-up areas, while the special forces are in charge of the border with neighboring Hungary and the line of demarcation separating them from Croatia's paramilitary forces.

All members of the police forces of the Serbian Region have been trained to effectively defy all provocations by Croatia's paramilitary army. This is also borne out by their latest successful actions and their success in preventing incursions of commandos into the Serbian Region.

### Babic Says Serbs Sould Work Together

*LD2205191292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1352 GMT 21 May 92*

[By Sava Jankovic]

[Text] Knin, May 21 (TANJUG)—The slogan "Never Again with Croatia," unanimously expressed by the political leaders of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), indicates that the time has passed of the split in the political leadership of the Serb autonomous republic which lies inside Croatia's borders.

The Serbs in Croatia late in 1991 proclaimed their own republic in areas where they are the majority population in response to Croatia's unilateral secession from Yugoslavia and its treatment of the Serbs as a national minority—these were also the principal causes of last year's war between the Croats and the Serbs in Croatia.

Under a U.N. Security Council decision, the territory of the RSK is under the protection of a U.N. peacekeeping

force, whose "blue helmets" will remain in the area until a lasting political solution is found for the crisis.

The main reason for the split in the RSK's political leadership was the refusal of RSK President Milan Babic to accept the U.N. peace plan. The RSK parliament, which voted in favour of the peace plan, in February this year replaced Babic from the post of republican president and elected Goran Hadzic the new president.

Babic has thus far refused to recognize the parliament's decisions, but he has now told TANJUG that there is a need for cooperation between the Krajina government and the opposition in realizing and independent and sovereign state of RSK.

"We must no longer waste time deciding who stands for what, but work together for Krajina and the Serbian people in it to realize their right to self-determination," Babic said.

By recognizing the independence of the unilaterally seceded Croatia the international community has recognized the right of the Croatian people to self-determination—but the Serbian people in Croatia are entitled to that same right.

The leaders of the opposing political factions in the RSK leadership [word indistinct] of the republican parliament on Tuesday reached accord that the RSK and the Serbian people in it would not accept any sort of "special status" inside the borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The RSK's parliament said that by forming their own armed forces the Krajina Serbs would "defend and succeed in protecting the freedom" they won in "last year's war of liberation."

### Views on Markovic's Return to Political Life

*92BA0909A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 May 92 p 26*

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic: "Is Markovic Coming Back?"]

[Text] In answer to the question of viewers on a TV program: Does he know where Ante Markovic is and what he is doing? a high-level (only on the basis of position, because in all else he is below average) Croatian political officeholder answered: That is a matter for law enforcement authorities. This was only a continuation of the debates about the former federal prime minister that have been conducted even in the Croatian Assembly over whether Markovic should be allowed to return to Croatia or even perhaps arrested and proclaimed a criminal. What Markovic was accused of at that time, and many of the charges are being repeated today, is that he sponsored Milosevic's "constitution based on tanks," that he was responsible for the beginning of the war in Slovenia, that he frustrated the Slovene and Croatian desire for secession, and through his international connections tried to save Yugoslavia when it was clear to everyone that this was a Sisyphean job. Put most briefly, he was known as a Yugoslav [spelled as in Croatian] (even as a Yugoslav [spelled as in Serbian]) who did not understand the spirit of the times and the aspirations and desires of his own nationality, but rather opposed them with every means, placing himself on the opposite side.

In the meantime, a graffito appeared in the center of Zagreb, on the Square of Croatia's Giants (formerly the Square of the Victims of Fascism): Markovic, come back, save us! That was a message from those nostalgic people who still remembered when seven of his dinars could buy a German mark and the time when Croatia (together with Yugoslavia) already had one foot in Europe with respect to its standard of living, which only confirms the great complexity of Markovic's political career, because some perceived him to be a natural disaster, others a messiah, while still others tried to weigh his real merits and sins.

Some time ago, a brief notice appeared in POLITIKA in Belgrade to the effect that yet another party is being established in Croatia, accompanied by the remark that the Croatian Government is afraid of it even now, because none other than Ante Markovic is behind the whole project.

But then even the Croatian public, first over television, which gave the founding of the Social Democratic Union [SDU] unusually broad coverage, and then also from brief articles in the newspaper, was informed that on Saturday, 9 May (even the date was not chosen by random, because it coincides with the Victory Over Fascism Day and Europe Day), the first SDU convention would be held in Zagreb. The scant information indicated that this was actually an attempt to unify the forces of the left center, that the nucleus of the future party would be made up of the former League of Social Democrats and Alliance of Croatian Reformers, but that it would also be joined by certain regional parties: for example, the Istrian Democratic Assembly and Dalmatian Action. Still more interesting, and most intriguing for the public, was the list of names of the people who worked to draft the program and other documents: Ante Markovic, Branko Horvat, Rudi Supek, Danijel Ivin, Srdjan Dvornik....

The speculations over several months, then, did nevertheless come true. According to those suggestions, Markovic is again returning to politics, reluctant to acknowledge that time has passed him by and that it is difficult for him to carry nearly seven decades on his back. The other pillar of the party, Dr. Branko Horvat, whose Nobel Prize was never to be and who is said to be a candidate to head the party, will say that that is not so at all, because Markovic is entirely absorbed in the activities of extending his business from Graz, where he has a private firm, to Zagreb, where his bank will soon open. Markovic—Horvat, the former member of the UJDI

[Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative], will explain—has no intention whatsoever of exhausting himself in a tug-of-war with the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], but that his intention is to hit them wherever he can and in that way keep them in check, because they will not know exactly what he will do.

Denying the assertions that they want to absorb regional parties, and explaining that it is only a question of a possible coalition for the elections, at 27 Koncar Street, where the party's headquarters are located, they say (although not in unison) that they realize that the time for waving flags and singing wake-up songs has still not passed, but that election of an economist and a manager with world reputations to the party's leadership is an expression of a choice being offered to Croatia as a way out of the misery into which it has fallen.

Warnings to the effect that these are nevertheless people who carry baggage from the past, even though even Stipe Mesic gave Markovic amnesty the other day from guilt for the war in Slovenia and declared that the attack on Banski Dvori was also aimed at killing him, the new Social Democrats (the third in Croatia) are being received with quite a bit of reserve, and the optimism, especially that of Professor Horvat, borders on political naivete, not to say blindness, because, asked whether he expects these elections to be "against" rather than "for," he replied: "Yes, partially. But I have the impression that there will be a partial normalization, especially in the cities, and people will be asking who can solve our problems, and that party which has a program and people will also have credibility." Of course, he is thinking here of the SDU, but when we caution him that the war is still going on, that there are millions of refugees, that half of Croatia has been destroyed, he is brief: "And who can feed those people, who can bring Croatia economic recovery? The one who knows: And a Markovic and a Horvat quite certainly know that better than Tudjman." And while some members of the initiating committee of the party are cautiously warning that at this moment they are not thinking about elections, because "their" elections are the ones in four years, Dr. Horvat is stubbornly optimistic and does not consent to any faintheartedness: "My assessment is that in the first month we will have over 50,000 members (they have about 30,000 now). Much depends on unforeseeable situations. To be sure, we may fare badly, but improbable upsets can occur."

"And you could even move from these barracks into some real palace."

"Even that is possible," Horvat says, "but even then we would keep this little house in the Tresnjevci section because it is red."

Time will show how right Professor Horvat is, although serious analysts say that what the SDU considers its advantages are actually defects—timing and people—because so long as the war is still going on, although the president says that it is over, no significant portion of the electorate will really commit itself to a party which has Yugoslav connections from the past and is offering a typical left-wing program suitable to the Western democracies. Even though the SDU program seriously criticizes the incumbent party and is actually the only true opposition party that would appeal to the intelligentsia, the workers, and the peasantry, the question is whether it will not instead break up what little of the left remains, rather than unifying it?

The question thus remains of whether Ante Markovic is truly returning to politics? If it is true at all that he is the initiator and founder of the SDU, because there are serious rumors and warnings that his name is only being used in order to gain substance, because "if Markovic tried to save Yugoslavia with his ties and foreign capital, then why not use him now to save Croatia?"

But regardless of the full truth, where there is smoke, there is surely fire.

### Drnovsek Receives Letter of Support From Kohl

*AU2605085492 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 26 May 92*

[Text] Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek has received from German Chancellor Helmut Kohl a letter expressing the full support of the German Government for the Slovene efforts to establish closer relations with the European Community. In Kohl's opinion, the first steps were negotiations with the appropriate bodies of the EC to reach an agreement on trade and cooperation. In his letter, Kohl gives assurances that the German Government will support a special clause that will enable Slovenia to accelerate its cooperation with the EC.

### Monitoring Group for Refugees Established

*LD2505162192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 25 May 92*

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 May (TANJUG)—A parliamentary group to monitor the problem of refugees was established today in the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia. Members of that body—the first of that kind in Slovenia—will be informed about all problems concerning refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina and possibilities of providing accommodation and adequate care for them. Contacts will be established with parliaments in West European countries which have shown readiness to help solve this problem.

There are now over 50,000 refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina in Slovenia. Their accommodation and the provision of necessary living conditions are becoming increasingly difficult. According to statements from authorized sources, the so-called risk figure—which even the highest republican officials stated as the maximum number of refugees in Slovenia—was exceeded a long time ago. Frequent appeals have been sent recently to the highest bodies and officials of neighboring West European countries to provide assistance in caring for refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina and to accommodate in their refugee reception centers as many people as possible who are seeking refuge. It has been assessed that the arrival of fresh refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina could cause a number of problems which will be difficult to solve.

### Adria-Airways Resumes Flights to Skopje

*AU2605094092 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 26 May 92*

[Text] The Slovene air carrier Adria-Airways will resume flights to Skopje today. Planes will fly over Hungary, Romania, and Greece to Macedonia. Therefore, the flights will take much longer, lasting two hours and 15 minutes. To enter Macedonia, Slovene and Croatian citizens need a special identification card, and they must pay a special tourist tax at Skopje airport amounting to 300 Macedonian denars. No payment of tax is required if travelling with a passport. Citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro need a passport to enter Macedonia.

### Government Supports Draft Law on Privatization

*AU2705093492 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] At yesterday's session, the Slovene Government decided, with few amendments, to support the draft law on property transformation of companies. It has been prepared by three deputies in the Slovene Assembly. The draft law is now ready to be submitted to the Assembly. It is expected to be adopted in June. This should speed up the normalization of economy.

## International

### Executive Council Statement on Sarajevo 'Crime'

*LD2805145792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1007 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government received with astonishment, indignation and revulsion news about yesterday's crime in Sarajevo, the Federal Executive Council (FEC) Information Secretariat stresses in today's statement.

The massacre of innocent citizens of various nationalities was an act of madness and disregard for the minimum of international norms and humanitarian rights on the part of forces who do not want peace and a just solution to the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis to be reached within the framework of the Lisbon conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina under the European Community auspice.

The government adds in the statement that the massacre in Sarajevo was aimed at blocking these negotiations and at compromising Yugoslav Army forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which are still under a blockade, and by implication, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government calls on all parties in clashes to end all hostilities immediately and unconditionally, and to continue talks at the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina until the final resolution of the question of the state and legal system in the republic is reached.

The federal government condemns most sharply the latest crime in Bosnia-Hercegovina and calls for the perpetrators and those who ordered this mad act to be uncovered, and it appeals once more to the leaderships of all three communities to use their authority to create as soon as possible conditions for a lasting peace and life on these territories.

The Yugoslav Government expresses deep condolences to the families of innocent victims, the statement concludes.

### Presidency Wants Investigation

*LD2805212692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency most strongly condemns those who commited the horrible crime in Sarajevo and proposes that an international commission be immediately set up to clarify all the circumstances behind the massacre of civilians and submit its report to the UN Security Council, stressed Branko Kostic, vice president of the Presidency, in a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali.

In the letter, submitted to TANJUG today, the Presidency stresses that the culprits and organizers of the unprecedented massacre—whoever they are—must be found and brought to justice. At a time when it seemed that conditions were being created for ending the bloody clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina by signing the latest cease-fire, by continuing talks in Lisbon, and by launching a broad humanitarian operation to help the population of Bosnia-Hercegovina, a serious crime was commited. This could have been done only by someone who did not want the cease-fire in Bosnia-Hercegovina, reads the letter to Butrus Ghali.

Stressing its readiness to cooperate fully with the United Nations in its efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis, the Yugoslav Presidency proposes that an inernational commission be immediately set up and submit its report to the UN Security Council in order for all the circumstances behind the massacre in Sarajevo be clarified. If they are not, the massacre will have far-reaching consequences. Clarification will also unmask the culprits.

### Kostic Writes Kozyrev on Sarajevo 'Massacre'

*LD2905004892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2332 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The massacre perpetrated in the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on Wednesday morning, in which 16 people were killed and 114 were wounded, "could only have been committed by those who want a continuation of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina," says the vice-president of the presidency of Yugoslavia, Branko Kostic, in a letter sent to Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Thursday.

Kostic says that numerous informations and facts indicate that the massacre in Sarajevo was "the work precisely of those who enjoy the undivided support of the European Community and the United States, carried out with a view to triggering an avalanche of anger and indignation against Serbia and Yugoslavia and using the crime to interrupt the Lisbon conference on peace for Bosnia-Hercegovina."

The letter has been sent in response to Kozyrev's message to Kostic, prompted by the Sarajevo crime, to do everything in his power to put a stop to the bloodshed in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Kostic informs Kozyrev that he sent a letter also to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Ghali on Thursday, demanding an urgent setting up of an international commission to probe into the Sarajevo massacre.

"I assure you once again, as I did on several occasions in Belgrade, that we do wish an urgent restoration of peace and that we shall continue to exert our influence with the Serb leadership in Bosnia-Hercegovina to that end," Kostic stresses in his letter to Kozyrev.

### Army Spokesman Protests Reports on Evacuation

*LD2805220192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2008 GMT 28 May*

[Text] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)—In connection with different reports on the evacuation of soldiers from the Jusuf Dzonlic Barracks, specifically a statement given by Biljana Plavsic, the Information Service of the chief of staff of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Army is authorized to voice the chief of staff's sharpest protest of such irresponsible conduct and to deny incorrect information that deceives and disturbs the public.

Soldier Blagoslav Ljujic from Bijelo Polje lost his life when soldiers, officers, and civilians were evacuated from the Jusuf Dzonlic Barracks, this evening's statement says. All other reports about dozens of killed, wounded, massacred, or missing soldiers are false and unfounded.

Such irresponsible statements and unfounded reports, and even accusations, made by Biljana Plavsic are undermining the efforts competent Army bodies are investing in a peaceful and safe evacuation of Army personnel from the remaining barracks besieged by Muslim armed formations in Sarajevo, the statement of the Information Service of the Yugoslav Army chief of staff concludes.

### Church Sends Protest To EC, 'Those in Power'

*LD2905092492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2010 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Orthodox Church (SPC) on Thursday sent a protest to "those in power on the soil of former Yugoslavia" and to the European Community for the "brutal and rash manner in which they incited destruction of nearly everything that has brought together and joined as men and civilized nations" the Yugoslav peoples.

The memorandum was adopted at the end of the SPC holy synod session in the night of Wednesday-Thursday, and was conceived as a document on the plight of the Serbian people and everything that brought to this.

"Western Europe, which was integrating today, seems to assist through its behavior our fratricidal separation and breaking up, especially the crushing of the Serbian national and spiritual organism. This was why the trust of Serbs in certain leading politicians and institutions in Western Europe and America was on the wane," the memorandum said.

Assessing that apart from the burdens of the inherited past the situation in Yugoslavia was primarily the result of post-war communist tyranny, the memorandum noted that the Serbian people, "the principal victim of an imposed system and ideology, was now unjustifiably being presented as the main culprit for all that happened and that was happening."

"Today the European Community was defending as definitive the solutions the totalitarian ideology had imposed, and accepted the administrative borders as sacrosanct although they cut into the living organism of the Serbian people and divided the centuries-old hearths, sacred objects and monasteries."

"It was a tragic fact that the Serbian people was celebrating through fresh suffering the 50th anniversary of its plight (genocide) in the Nazi 'independent state of Croatia' as well as on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija," the memorandum set out.

The SPC was, therefore, addressing the people and the international public and drawing attention to the European Community that the "Serbian people must not be identified with Serbia's regime."

The SPC openly dissociated itself from this and such authority and its bearers, as well as from their constitution adopted without the people and from the prepared elections that "do not inspire trust," the memorandum said.

It also cited that "our church favors the unity of the Serbian people and Serbian lands, but also favors a just solution to the national rights and existential problems of all nations living with it or in its neighborhood."

"Any kind of unjust solution—was no solution for anyone—neither for us, nor for our neighbors, nor for the Balkans, nor for Europe. And Serbia was Europe even before Western Europe was. It continued committed to date to the most profound Christian foundations in Europe, as Serbian spirituality and culture were a witness to," the SPC memorandum said.

### EC Decision on Sanctions Expected on 1 Jun

*LD2805193192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Brussels, May 28 (TANJUG)—The formal decision on the European Community sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro will be taken on Monday, June 1, at a meeting of the EC Council of Ministers in Luxembourg, as TANJUG learned in Brussels on Thursday.

The EC ambassadors agreed in Brussels on Wednesday night on the sanctions to be introduced against Serbia and Montenegro, two republics which remained in a reconstructed Yugoslav state—the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—after the four other former Yugoslav republics seceded. Ordinarily the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro would take effect a week after the formal decision, when their text would be published in the official gazette. However, there are indications that the official gazette could be published as early as on Monday night.

The EC trade blockade of Serbia and Montenegro will not cover food and medicaments, as it was learned on Thursday, and will not include an oil embargo or a freeze of the two republics' assets.

The European "twelve" have, however, called on the UN Security Council to impose a trade blockade of Serbia and Montenegro and take a decision on an oil embargo and the freezing of Serbia's and Montenegro's assets abroad and their financial transactions and payments with foreign partners.

At the meeting of the EC ambassadors, as it is said, the delegations of Germany, Great Britain and some other countries insisted that the EC take a final stand on its measures before the matter came before the UN Security Council, so as to influence the council's decisions. On the other hand, France, Greece and partly Spain insisted that only UN sanctions could be effective. The latter camp was for a gradual introduction of sanctions, feeling that all bridges for a political solution of the Yugoslav conflict could otherwise be destroyed. France, which is said to have been the last to agree to the sanctions, also opposed the suspension of air links with Serbia and Montenegro, on which the decision has been left up to the individual EC governments. The EC sanctions do not call for Yugoslavia's exclusion from international sports events, on which Great Britain had insisted. The Spanish view predominated that the decision on that particular point should be left up to the International Olympic Committee and other sports organizations.

Western countries accuse Serbia and the Yugoslav Army of being the chief culprits for the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, although members of the three ethnic communities—Muslims, Serbs, and Croats—and around 30,000 troops of the regular army of neighouring Croatia, another former Yugoslav Republic, are engaged in fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

## Need To Preserve Military Industry in Bosnia

*92BA0925C Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 92 p 13*

[Interview with Jovan Jovicic, president of the Yugoslav Community for Armament and Military Equipment, by S. Pejovic; place and date not given: "The Battle for the Arms Industry"]

[Text] It is a visible fact that regions where the military industry is located are mentioned most frequently in the daily reports from the Bosnian battlefield. In recent weeks, the pages of newspapers have been flooded with assertions that the arms industry of the former Yugoslavia is concentrated mostly in Bosnia. The extent to which that is true is a question to be answered for EKONOMSKA POLITIKA by Jovan Jovicic, president of the Yugoslav Community for Armament and Military Equipment.

[Jovicic] The precise fact is this: About 40 percent of the capacity is located in Serbia, another approximately 35 percent in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H], while the remainder is in all the other areas. But it is a fact that the fundamental segment of the military industry has been distributed half-and-half between Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and splitting that fundamental segment of the industry would signify stopping development of the industry of armament and military equipment as a whole.

The war in Bosnia, and then policies which do not acknowledge economic development, have resulted in the complete neglect of production and have disrupted operating conditions in the enterprises. We have been pointing this out persistently for two years now. In the situation when in Bosnia they are trying to take territory on an ethnic basis, production has actually come to a halt in the sector of the military industry. There were particular problems with the factory Bratstvo in Travnik, and then they spread to all the other factories. First, transport was prevented even when it came to goods for export and for the armed forces, and then that was followed by a tax on the factories and theft, so that we had to protect Pobjeda, Pretis, and Famos.

[Pejovic] Who came to defend the factories? The army?

[Jovicic] The workers, actually the factory guards were reinforced with some of the workers, and we are now in a situation where the factories are not operating, but are protecting themselves against attacks and destruction. Our thought is simply that damage must not be done to the production capacity so that when the euphoria passes, all of this would be activated toward joint development goals on the basis of an agreement. That capacity, that is, those factories, were already fully engaged in transformation of their production toward market-oriented programs, which is difficult to carry out in this sector even in completely peaceful times. But I am convinced that in the end there will nevertheless be an agreement on organizing operation in those factories and that people will again have an opportunity to work. That is why those factories must be preserved and then enabled to develop on the basis of proper relations.

It is clear to me that what I am saying now is a goal that must be preceded by economic and political support of the future Bosnian government. But I see no reasons or any indications that such support will not be coming even in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Pejovic] You say that tax on the military factories began even before the conflicts of the war. Can we conclude from this that the war in Bosnia is to some extent a consequence of what happened?

[Jovicic] I think not, but rather that the factories have now become a target of aspirations of certain parties and nationalities. It is a fact which cannot be evaded that workers of diverse nationalities are defending those factories, which have provided them their living.

[Pejovic] How many people are employed in the factories there?

[Jovicic] About 30,000.

[Pejovic] It is generally known that not a single product in the field of armament is made in one place, and that certainly can be decisive both for what is happening now with the military factories and also for the future.

[Jovicic] There are no products which before finishing do not have to cross the Drina four times, and that is a fact which must be respected as far as future relations are concerned. This indicates above all the high level of specialization of the factories with respect to production technology, which is an additional argument for respecting the business interests of the factories themselves. All the other conditions can be agreed on among the future governments and future states. It would be extremely unwise for those agreements not to respect the technological and production considerations and the preconditions that are already in place.

What we naturally expect is that when political tensions calm down and the war ends, cooperation among the factories will be reestablished on the basis of economic logic. We are making maximum efforts so that even under these problematical circumstances we can provide in an organized way those basic preconditions required for the functioning of this unified technological system.

## Balkan Issue Seen as Test for CSCE

*AU1905081592 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 92 p 2*

[Miroslav Stojanovic commentary: "Fatigue of Warriors, or Fatigue of Mediators"]

[Text] Under the dark shadow and the extensive horrors of the insane war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, all the possible options were circulated last week. Tired of the whole thing, some demanded that the mediators in the Euro-American coordination effort give up trying, some, in fury or despair, were inclined to let the local warring factions persevere with their killing, in the hope that they would eventually tire of it, while others still, brandishing their swords in the air, called for a crusade (mainly against Serbia), convinced that "politics without a fight", that is, diplomacy, had become fruitless and futile.

Signs of fatigue could be seen, on the eve of the twelfth round of the Brussels conference on Yugoslavia, even on the jovial Portuguese Pinheiro, who holds the conductor's baton as Portugal's minister of foreign affairs in the European family (EC) until the end of June. He warned that the EC should "seriously reconsider the usefulness of its further mediating efforts."

That prompted journalists, and other forecasters and prophets, to reveal in dramatic tones that the plenary session held in Brussels last week, under the inevitable chairmanship of Lord Carrington, and with Alija Izetbegovic's chair empty, could well be his lordship's last chance to achieve results in the job he had been given by his employers in the Brussels headquarters. His lordship himself, although many times faced with the temptation to give up the whole thing, showed unrelenting vigor this time: I believe that, at this moment, the community cannot simply give up and forget everything....

### Secretary Baker's Second Disappointment

Even the firm Americans started hesitating for a moment in a mixture of fury and disappointment caused by the fact that their forceful charge into the red-hot Yugoslav lava, after a long period of remaining aloof in the background of the "European diplomatic front," had not produced the desired effect.

Journalists who are well-connected with the American State Department revealed that Secretary of State Baker "had decided not to engage himself further" in the Yugoslav problem (?!), mentioning that that was the second time he had made such a decision. Last June, after a brief visit to Belgrade, and painstaking talks with the republican leaders, the American secretary left for home, convinced that he had managed to get their firm promise that they would do everything to prevent the outbreak of civil war. He had not even had a chance to unpack when news reached him that the impatient Croats and Slovenes had unilaterally decided to become independent, thus opening the door wide to a war that is still nowhere near its end....

There is no solution, but there is plenty of disappointment, said a highly placed American diplomat recently. But, in the obviously stubborn avoidance of these great mediators and peacemakers really to face the main causes of the Yugoslav crisis, and try and find a global, permanent, and just solution, his colleagues, and those in Europe, came up with "the only remaining means"—non-recognition of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and one of the firmest supports and pillars, without which the stopping of the Yugoslav hell and the establishing of a stable and beneficial peace are simply not possible.

### Untimely Crisis

After a certain period of calm, when, instead of the extreme radicalism and chauvinism as witnessed at one Helsinki conference, from which threats and ultimatums were fired at Serbia and Yugoslavia, it seemed that they had begun to resort to quieter tones and more flexible options, the Americans stormed into the latest Helsinki marathon with a vengeance that even placed their European friends and allies in an embarrassing position, forcing them to face great temptations. In an unexpected alliance with Austria (the Washington-Vienna duo thus involved in a joint international action for the first time since the Americans placed the Austrian head of state on their "black list"), the Americans launched a merciless attack in an effort to extinguish the last trace of Yugoslavia in the CSCE, and in doing so, caused the first serious crisis in this body!

After a whole series of forced interruptions in the Helsinki session, it is still unclear how the two opposing factions may be reconciled; two unreconcilable sides on

whose extreme wings in direct confrontation are again Russia and America, as in the era of the newly-ended (forever?) cold war. And while the Americans are demanding an explicit and submissive exclusion of Yugoslavia from the CSCE, the Russians not only refuse to countenance such radical demands, but even other, more compromising and milder variations.

**Will the Guinea Pig Become the Victim?**

Some analysts detect with anxiety a cold breeze of the past era in the fact that the Russians have finally "managed to get a word in edgeways", and have opposed the Americans at a strong international forum for the first time in the last three years!

With obvious exaggerations and hasty decisionmaking, the political games centered on Yugoslavia and Serbia, under the heavy cloud of the tragic events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, are putting the CSCE on a delicate and serious trial, and this at the time when its new political philosophy is supposed to be defined.

The CSCE is understandably trying to distance itself from being a "debating society" and conducting fruitless diplomatic efforts, and to find its way toward greater effectiveness by introducing new institutions and mechanisms. But, as the Yugoslav case drastically and dramatically shows, this forum is in danger of encountering great risks that could forever "kill" the good Helsinki spirit, which has long resisted all impositions, force and ultimatums from the (too) mighty powers and interests.

Yugoslavia has, unfortunately, been the first guinea pig of the new institutions for a long time now: It was the first case for the testing of the crisis mechanism of the CSCE, which was under the German (Genscher's) presidency at the time. Will it become its first victim, too?

## Federal

### Government Readies Measures Regulating Cash Flow

*LD2805193292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1205 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The Federal Government and the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ) are preparing urgent measures for regulating the flow of capital and foreign currency in the country, the federal government's information secretariat said in a statement on Thursday.

The measures are aimed at curbing the uncontrolled rise of prices, so that the implementation of the anti-inflation programme could begin as soon as it is adopted, the statement says.

According to the Federal Statistical Office, the monthly inflation rate soared to 78 percent in April.

Serbia Premier Radoman Bozovic last week said that the Serbian Government was preparing measures aimed at curbing the inflation. He said that the future government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would start implementing economic reforms which should curb the inflation.

The Republics of Serbia and Montenegro proclaimed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on April 27, and later announced that the new federation's first government would be formed in August.

The council of NBJ governors said on Wednesday that the bank's monetary policy for the next six-month period would be adopted after the constitution of the new federal bodies.

## Serbia

### Milosevic Interviewed on Current Situation

*AU2905084992 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1902 GMT 28 May 92*

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Milorad Vucelic, director general of Radio and Television Serbia; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Vucelic] Mr. President, it seems that the pressures on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia have never been greater than in recent times. In the last few days, they have even intensified. What do you think these pressures are aimed at?

[Milosevic] These pressures are above all aimed at destabilizing Yugoslavia—that is to say, at preventing it from being established and stabilized. The forces which have with the help of their Yugoslav branches succeeded in the last few years in finally breaking up Yugoslavia had in mind the need, in line with their own interests, to create as many small states in this part of the Balkans as possible—that is to say, to reduce Serbia to the smallest possible extent. Therefore, it is quite logical that they are all very upset. This is why this pressure is so fierce. It is fierce just because such a plan was countered by the creation of a stable state such as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which by European standards has quite a potential.

Therefore, this plan stopped on the borders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and without a doubt these people, both the citizens of Serbia and the citizens of Montenegro, have a right to this state of theirs and are oriented toward this, and therefore they can set such a state up and successfully live in it.

[Vucelic] Do you think therefore that adherence to its own interests and independence in the policy of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro is in some way the main cause of this kind of pressure being exerted on us now?

[Milosevic] There is no doubt that with its 11 million citizens in this central place in the Balkan peninsula, on this bridge between continents and with its potential, Yugoslavia is greater than Greece, Bulgaria, Hungary,

Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, or the Netherlands. Therefore, regarding European criteria, it is a medium-sized country with great possibilities for development and with great possibilities to maintain its stability, independence, and even its successful economic development as an independent state in both the political and military sense. It does not in any way suit the interests of those forces that wanted to destabilize and break up the whole of the region of what has up to now been Yugoslavia. Therefore, it is obvious that were this not so important, the pressures would not be so great. One can measure what will happen best by the resistance that is offered to the processes of such an emerging state.

[Vucelic] Do you therefore think that if we had been applauded more, we would have met other people's interests more and the situation would have been considerably more favorable, at least regarding foreign policy pressure, but, regarding our own interests, it would have been much worse?

[Milosevic] It is a great question whether we could agree to even think about putting aside some of our vital interests. That is to say, I do not believe that the huge majority of the citizens of Serbia—and I believe Montenegro, too—could even think that one could discuss tomorrow demands that we give up Kosovo or northern Vojvodina or Novi Pazar Sandzak, or the Raska region, or any other part of Yugoslavia. There can be no talk of this. I am also referring to a part of Montenegro that has been mentioned.

Therefore, it is a great question whether one can even talk about meeting such demands and interests halfway because I would like to remind you that pressure and sanctions against Serbia started the moment we refused in The Hague to allow Yugoslavia to be wiped away with the stroke of a pen. At that point, the reason was our so-called uncooperativeness, as if cooperativeness or uncooperativeness can be measured by our agreeing or disagreeing to our one and only homeland being scrapped.

[Vucelic] It is usually said that we are in the difficult situation that we are in primarily because we have lost the media war. I fear that to some extent that idea could be true, but it neglects the fact that we have nevertheless been the target of some other people's interests and their aspirations, and that this is nevertheless a more important part of the outcome, the part we are experiencing now.

[Milosevic] Undoubtedly, the war is no longer being waged merely by classic means, but rather a fierce media war also is being waged. It is evident from the information that we have received that it is very difficult to find an event represented to our advantage in the media of most of the EC countries and the United States. This is very well-financed and organized propaganda aimed at mobilizing public opinion against Serbia.

As you know, from the very beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, Serbia particularly strived to preserve Yugoslavia and to resolve the crisis in a peaceful manner. Furthermore, at the very beginning Serbia took the stand according to which it in no way disputes other peoples' right to self-determination, so that, if these peoples wish so, they can freely form their own national states. We also said that it is not our right to dispute such a right. However, the same right belongs to our people, that is to say, this same right also belongs to Serbia and Montenegro as well. Does it sound logical to you that the right to secession can be stronger than the right of being devoted to one's country, stronger than the right to remain and live in one's own existing country?

[Vucelic] It seems to us, Mr. President, that Serbia in its foreign political activities and in its international activities in general adhered for too long to the existing international law, legality, and legitimacy, while the world in the meantime obviously has abandoned this all by recognizing only de facto situations, regardless of how they were established.

[Milosevic] Well, the approach by which only de facto situations are recognized is very dangerous, not only in the particular case of Yugoslavia, but, it seems to me, also as a precedent for the world. If only force and interests, but no justice and truth, dominate the political scene, then a serious question arises as to what this new world order that has been discussed so much will resemble? Is this the order in which some countries or some nations are supposed to be servants and others masters, or is this the order that is supposed to represent a new way of democratization and integration on a global scale.

There are enormous differences in the approach to this issue and one thing is clear to us: These people and this country never were servants to others, these people do not have a foreign master, and they want to preserve their independence. I believe that we have all the conditions necessary to preserve this independence by not taking anything that belongs to others and by not demanding anything that belongs to others, because, from an historic perspective, taking away or usurping something that belongs to others actually may mean digging a grave for one's own grandchildren, as what has been taken by force and in a contested manner certainly eventually will be reopened by force and in a contested manner. It is known that in our entire history the Serbs and the Serbian people never waged wars of conquest, but defensive wars, and they succeeded in defending their freedom and their independence. We hope that we will not be forced to fight any other wars on these territories, as there have been plenty of wars and starvation here. We want peace.

The essence of the politics that Serbia is advocating at this very moment is reduced to only a couple of words—peace and economic recovery. I believe that we also meet plenty of conditions for economic recovery. And I believe that under stable circumstances in our region, which we would for this reason like to help to create and stimulate, we can implement the economic revitalization

and raise the standard of living very rapidly. That is to say, we can ensure that our Federal Republic of Yugoslavia becomes in all aspects a well-organized, economically developed, and happy country.

[Vucelic] I believe that through the Constitution, through everything that will follow, the upcoming elections and so forth, we will reach stability and safety. This will facilitate the creation of better foundations and a better future for the generations to come and for us who are living now?

[Milosevic] Well, it is hard to imagine, at least as regards the majority of the citizens of this country, how any of them could be bothered by the formation of Yugoslavia. The formation of Yugoslavia can only bother our enemies and those who wish for this country to be their servant. It certainly is in the interest of the residents of this country, the residents of Serbia and Montenegro, that this country be well and efficiently organized. The bottom line is, if we created the country, then, naturally, this country also should function. If we formed the country, then this country should have its parliament and government in order to function, and the latter two are constituted at elections. Therefore, it is evident that in the process of constituting the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, time is a very important factor, I would even say a key factor. Furthermore, I believe that after the elections some of the, shall I say, pronounced tendencies of great pressure will have to subside, especially, when it becomes apparent to what degree the residents of this country cherish their country and to what degree they want the actual constitution of this country and the creation of the economic, political, and other circumstances that would facilitate successful development.

[Vucelic] An unavoidable topic in all these talks that have been conducted, the topic that serves as the motive and the cause for foreign intervention, foreign interference, or foreign pressure, is the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Although you have presented your view on several occasions, although your view is known, I would like to ask you to state what you think about the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and possible solutions in Bosnia-Hercegovina, particularly the ones that you are promoting, the ones that Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are promoting.

[Milosevic] The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina shows that many who are exerting pressure regarding the whole situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina simply do not understand either the problems of Yugoslavia or the problems of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This lack of understanding has pushed the peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina into this bloody conflict. This conflict represents a tragedy for all its citizens regardless of their nationality. Our view about this, as is known, is very clear. It even was formulated in our assembly, as you remember, at the beginning of March. This took place much earlier, before any clashes broke out in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In our opinion, this view was in fact the only possible principled view, and I hold the same view today, considering that Bosnia-Hercegovina is made up of three equal nations, three constituent, three constitution-making nations. By definition, Bosnia-Hercegovina has been such a state from its very creation. If Bosnia-Hercegovina were an island in the ocean, if it did not have Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, or any other country around it, this principle of equal treatment of interests of all three nations would still have to be applied.

Therefore, I would like to remind you that from the very beginning we have been striving for the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and relations in it to be regulated on the basis of consensus and equality of all three nations. We even said before all this that to help such a process and such a principled approach, we would respect any solution that these three peoples reach on an equal footing. This is the beginning and the end. I do not see any other solution. I do not see any other solution to this agony in Bosnia-Hercegovina other than for hostilities to stop immediately and for the conference that was in fact based on this principle of equality and consensus of the three constituent nations to resume immediately.

The destabilization in Bosnia-Hercegovina arose just because this very delicate balance and this principle were not respected. On the one hand, the EC endorsed this principle, the principle of tripartite consensus, as the starting basis and as the main and only principle of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, while on the other hand, in parallel, it embarked on a completely opposite process involving a truncated referendum and premature recognition. In brief, these moves had to endanger the principle that the community itself opted for. In this way, they produced destabilization and conflicts. Now those who produced this are looking for culprits. They are finding them in Serbia, even though it is known that neither Serbia nor the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are at war there. After all, if they were at war, this could be proved easily. (?If we) were the ones who carried out some kind of invasion in Bosnia-Hercegovina, could anyone hide this in Serbia? How could we at all carry out a secret invasion of Bosnia-Hercegovina? It appears to me that this is understood by every one of our citizens, but, unfortunately, it is very difficult to penetrate foreign media, and this message is not reaching their consciousness, that is to say, the establishment of a view on Yugoslavia.

However, I believe that in this respect there recently have been some indicators, at least some articles or programs are sporadically appearing in Western Europe and the United States, and they are presenting the true events in Yugoslavia. This is only an indication that in this case the truth will surface after all, probably with some delay, a break, which is the result of such great media blockade, but the truth cannot be hidden. The truth must come out at the end, and it will triumph. If we did not believe in this outcome, would we believe that we can achieve success, bearing in mind that our aims are just and solutions honest regarding all our neighbors?

[Vucelic] Mr. President, is there anything that the international community and the international organizations like the CSCE, EC, and the like, have demanded from us, something that is principled, that is to say, have they presented a demand to Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that was scrupulous, principled, that concerned the principles of humanism, and that Serbia would not have responded to it until now, or would not have complied with until now?

[Milosevic] No, nothing. Certainly not anything that would concern the principles of humanitarianism, especially, if one bears in mind that from the very beginning, through our words, work, stance, and behavior, we opposed any sort of armed clash. However, there were political demands. The main pressure was that we should accept the so-called Carrington document from The Hague. We simply could not accept this document because it contained a decree, implications that were abolishing our country. We even suggested then that, departing from the principles from which the conference in The Hague had departed, we retain what was written in the document about sovereign and independent states for those who want it, but that the document also equally consider our choice, which is a common state of those who want it. Therefore, in both cases the document would contain the wishes of all sides. What could be more just than to establish, organize, and bring to a status of normal function a state, in accordance with a wish that was, naturally, expressed in a democratic manner?

Therefore, due to such a one-sided approach we could not accept this document. It is hard to imagine that any patriot could have accepted it.

[Vucelic] In this context...

[Milosevic, interrupting] Without these corrections, of course. Without these corrections and amendments upon which we insisted and that were completely clearly—this always can be verified as these are the documents that will be kept—they were perfectly clearly and evidently such that they did not threaten anybody else's interests, but were merely facilitating those who wished to continue to live in their own existing state and to naturally reorganize this state in accordance with their interests.

[Vucelic] Another issue that arises is that of ethnic minorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a special emphasis on Kosovo.

[Milosevic] It seems to me that our answer was very principled here. We guarantee ethnic minorities all the rights that the countries of the CSCE countries guarantee. We guarantee them all the rights that are guaranteed by or exist in the countries of the EC. Therefore, we cannot be asked to guarantee something other than what the countries that are asking for this provide for their own ethnic minorities.

The idea that Kosovo should be given some kind of special status is another indication of the lack of knowledge about the whole situation in Serbia. The problem in Kosovo is not that the human rights of Albanians are being trampled on, but a problem involving a clash with a separatist Albanian movement whose only aim, which it has finally openly proclaimed, is to separate Kosovo from Serbia and join it to neighboring Albania. This is an issue which concerns our integrity.

Kosovo is not merely another part of Serbia, although Serbia does not have parts to give away, anyway. Kosovo is the heart of Serbia; our entire history lies there. Finally, even today there is an enormous number, several hundred thousand...[pauses] that is to say, not only Albanians but also Serbs, Montenegrins, and others. In the end, Kosovo never was an Albanian autonomous region. Kosovo became an autonomous region because of the specific structure of its population, for specific reasons, regardless of whether this was justified or not.

Therefore, Kosovo never belonged, not even as an autonomous region, to the Albanian ethnic minority, and never in history did it belong to Albania. True enough, a part of it belonged to Mussolini's Greater Albania, that is, it was under fascist rule. However, neither before nor after, never in history did Kosovo belong to Albania. Kosovo will remain a part of Serbia, and this really cannot be discussed under any circumstances.

It is another thing that there are instances of human rights violations in Kosovo. This has to be eliminated. However, this cannot either be a cause or a reason for anyone to demand that Kosovo be given a special status in which the Albanian minority would enjoy virtual state powers and in this way realize integration with neighboring Albania to the detriment of Serbia. This is out of the question.

[Vucelic] Mr. President, it is often said that because of a lack of foreign policy Serbia has lost allies, and that at present it has neither friends nor allies in the world. Considering that you have been very intensively contacting foreign officials, you have such contacts every day, to what extent do you consider this impression justified and correct?

[Milosevic] I do not believe that this impression is correct. We have neither lost friends nor allies, despite the fact that at this hot stage of huge pressures, and in this situation of a disturbed balance in the world, some forces undoubtedly are dictating solutions and dictating the attitude toward us. I do not believe that this can last for a long time. It can last only for a very short time, because the relations that have so far been established on an equal basis were not established by force, but because of the interests of Yugoslavia and other states which have entered into these relations with it.

The interests are alive, they still exist, and there is no doubt that they will be preserved even after the wave of these mostly unfounded accusations and pressures on our country have gone.

[Vucelic] Frequent targets of criticism are the domestic policy of Serbia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and you, as president, as allegedly being an undemocratic policy, a policy that contains elements of Bolshevism, communism, and similar things that are a part of the collection of things that have become (?odious). Could you say something about these objections.

[Milosevic] According to—I believe that this is a Russian proverb—one is not too choosy about a stick in a fight, which is often used in our country. Many things were said at the expense of Serbia, at the expense of the ruling party, at my expense. However, one should have discussions and appreciate what is in fact happening in this country. This country has held free, multiparty elections. Neither foreign forces nor their domestic branches can determine or elect who will be sitting in the assembly or the government in a democratic country. This is the right of the people. The people realized this right at free elections.

We are in fact just about to hold free elections during which everyone will be able to freely express their wish, as our citizens know. There is nothing more rational for those who believe that they enjoy the support of the people than to take part in the elections, nominate themselves as candidates, and obtain this support. They should have their beliefs in the correctness of the views and policies that they are advocating confirmed.

[Vucelic] Mr. President, in your opinion, does a policy, policies, or aspirations, that definitely exist on the political scene, and that would like to restore divisions from a civil war in Serbia, stand any chance of success, or do you believe that this is not possible in Serbia in present times and in this crisis and complex situation in which we live?

[Milosevic] Nothing is impossible, and because they believe that this is possible, many forces are trying hard to get Serbs to start killing each other. The success of such an endeavor, however, would be tragic for Serbia. I am sure that matters will not end in such a way. These people want to live in peace, to assume successful economic development and not to kill each other. Finally, in who else's interest could this be but in our enemies'? It is, nevertheless, the end of the 20th century, and in Europe, where we live, it is not possible to assume that a justified interest and aspiration of either individuals or groups, if they are any good and if a democratic support can be won for them, could not come into prominence through the democratic mechanism that has been established in this country. I do not believe that anyone with good intentions in this country could claim this.

[Vucelic] Mr. President, it usually is believed that economic prosperity and revitalization, which you have just mentioned, in a crisis situation are not possible without foreign aid. Therefore, there are some doubts that we...[pauses] that it would not be possible for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to achieve an anti-inflation program and a stable economic situation that would facilitate not only stability, but also prosperity by merely relying on its own resources and potential.

[Milosevic] Even though we were not receiving foreign aid, that is to say, I suppose Yugoslavia was receiving foreign aid a few decades ago. However, entire decades have passed not in receiving aid, but in paying off the enormous interest rates on loans that were taken for what was needed and for what was not needed.

I believe that Yugoslavia stands an extremely good chance in the circumstances of a reasonable economy. I believe that there is not one country among the East European bloc countries—which we are unjustly included in although we were never a part of that bloc—that could experience an economic recovery faster than Yugoslavia.

Therefore, we are not considering the closing of Yugoslavia here, but, on the contrary, its opening in all directions and aspects in an economic sense. Cooperation with partners in foreign markets has no perspective if we have to count on somebody's aid. We can count on somebody's economic interest. Foreign businessmen will invest in numerous economic projects that they are interested in if they will benefit from it, and so will our businessmen. Therefore, here we are talking about mobilization of foreign capital on good and attractive projects in which both sides will find a corresponding benefit.

Today, we have numerous large....[pauses] I can say there are a considerable number, a significant number of large projects for which there obviously is great interest among the developed countries. Precisely because of the attractiveness of these projects, we are one of the countries that do not need to search for investors. Therefore, it is in our interest that the political situation in the region stabilizes as quickly as possible. On the other hand, however, it must be clear that the creation of Yugoslavia, its survival, and its continuity are factors for stabilization and peace in the region.

In this sense, in a stable political situation, which we need, there are numerous conditions for a speedy economic recovery. We expect that we shall very quickly realize major investment projects—above all in the economic infrastructure; this means, highways, railroads, the unification of forces within the framework of the new state, including transportation enterprises, port authorities, telecommunication systems—that is, everything that is part of the economic infrastructure. The fact is that we now produce more than half of all the electricity of the former Yugoslavia, and that apart from France, we are the only country in Europe with a surplus of electrical power.

So, with such a state of affairs in the electrical power industry, with such big investment projects and communications at the international level, and, on the other hand, with a comprehensive opening for new investments, private investments, joint ventures, and long-term industrial cooperation, it is beyond doubt that this country has exceptionally large development potential, not to mention that its biggest development potential lies in an enormous number of highly educated workers, engineers, technicians, and all types of experts who can

be mobilized for almost any technological process currently used in the modern world.

The fact is that we have reduced our foreign debt in the past few years. Serbia owes only $4 billion. It is, as you can see, about $400 per person. This is incomparably less than almost all surrounding countries, and in a normal situation, we could very quickly activate our participation in the world financial markets, and the stock market and internal financial market, integrated with external markets, could start operating here so that economic life, in the full sense, would be orientated toward economic expansion, which undoubtedly is bound to succeed.

[Vucelic] Mr. President, will this Yugoslavia avoid inheriting some of the bad features of the earlier Yugoslavia, especially in its last phase? Namely, numerous elements of the confederal system, a lot of power to republics that did not recognize federal bodies—in which, of course, Serbia and Montenegro were the last—which later boomeranged on them, but nevertheless these tendencies [words indistinct].

[Milosevic] If we are not to avoid those tendencies, then we would be not be on the right track. That is certain. We approached the creation of this federation with the aim of creating a real federation, and not a confederation. If we make one or three states out of two....[Milosevic changes thought] If the latter, then it is better not even to start creating them. We have created—according to how it is defined in the Constitution—a modern federation that meets every condition to function efficiently. I hope that in the course of the implementation of a concept defined by the Constitution, everything that does not need to be at the republic level will be done at one place and the federation will function efficiently.

For instance, regarding economic issues, we used to have nine central banks, nine national banks, one federal and eight republican and provincial banks. We will not have three banks, but one. There is only one currency, one monetary system, which means one issuing bank and not one Yugoslav and two republican issuing banks. All those were nonsensical features of Yugoslav confederalism, and, in fact, a reason for Yugoslavia's disintegration. Because of that, Yugoslavia did not have the grounds and conditions to survive in the economic sense, because destructive mechanisms were built into the system. Now we have tried to avoid such mechanisms. So, one monetary system with one central bank, one fiscal system with one system of economic relations with foreign countries—all this defines a single market, which must be defined as a single economic space so that it can function as a single market.

On defense, why do we need defense ministries in the republics and in Yugoslavia? If there is one defense system, one Yugoslav Army, why do we need three ministries? And why do we need a series of parallel bodies for functions that we said in the Constitution belong to the federal state? My firm belief that Yugoslavia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, will be able to function as an efficient and modern federation, is (?based) on this and on the institutions of the system.

[Vucelic] That federation, of course, remains open for cooperation with [word indistinct], with all former subjects, former republics of Yugoslavia—cooperation based, naturally, on equality—and remains open not just for cooperation, but also for the possibility that a state can join other states if it is in its interests. Does this leave some opportunity for us to look after the Serbian people living in neighboring republics and in the former republics of [words indistinct] Yugoslavia, barring interference in the internal affairs of these neighboring countries?

[Milosevic] And what opportunities. Independent of institutional solutions, it is beyond a doubt at this moment that there are no opportunities to disintegrate the Serbian nation and to erect among it barriers that would stem the flow of vital issues that link it together. In the final analysis, regarding all those political, social, cultural, educational, and all other links, I do not believe that at this moment anyone thinks that someone could divide the Serbian nation. In all respects, whatever institutional solutions are adopted in resolving the crisis in Bosnia—and regarding the issue of Krajinas and other issues—the relations and links, interests, and concerns of the entire Serbian nation cannot be brought into question.

Regarding relations with the former Yugoslav republics, there are very considerable interests, both ours and—I am convinced—of all the republics, to reestablish, first of all, intensive economic and then many other types of relations. I am convinced that when this fever of nationalistic confrontation, this fever of bloody conflict, wanes, that links will be reestablished in the mutual interests of all those living in those parts of the former Yugoslavia, because both they and we have interest [words indistinct].

All in all, it can be concluded that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also in the future will take care of the concept of the spiritual unity and integrity of the Serbian people and the Serbian nation. Not to the detriment of others, of course, but above all respecting all its own interests and the interests of its people. Naturally, I am sure that, keeping in mind what you said about us never having intended to do anything to this effect, to the detriment of others, I see no reason why others should have anything against the fact that we care for our own interests and the interests of our own people.

[Vucelic] You were the exponent of one of two national strategies when you appeared on the political scene, on the big political scene. Some time has passed. What do you, Mr. President, think? Would a national strategy be possible in Serbia today that would take less care of the interests of the entire Serbian people, whether it would have legality and legitimacy among the Serbian people?

[Milosevic] Any strategy, any policy in Serbia cannot be successful if it neglects the interests of the people. It must be based on these basic interests. I think that in this process of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, it is clear to every citizen in Serbia today what would have happend

to Serbia if it had not become united in 1989 and how its different parts would have behaved now in these dramatic conditions. It can freely be said that had this not happened, it is a question whether the Serbian people would have a homeland.

Therefore, it is beyond a doubt that oscillations are possible, deviations from one side or another, more or less, but the main orientation of the overall interests of Serbia, its citizens, and the Serbian people cannot be subject to negotiation, trade, and least of all to rotten compromising. Therefore, in these circumstances we have to endure and preserve our interests. We are obliged to do so not only for this people, for citizens who now live in Serbia and Yugoslavia, but also for future generations.

[Vucelic] A while ago you spoke about the (?economic) situation giving rise to a certain optimism and faith in a better future, to some hope. But in light of the situation in the world and our surroundings and pressures to which we have been exposed, undoubtedly we have reasons to be apprehensive. Do you think that there are reasons for fear, or should we only remain apprehensive and somewhat concerned?

[Milosevic] I do not believe there is a single citizen of Serbia who is not worried today. There are many reasons for concern. In the final analysis, civil war is raging around us. We are exposed to enormous pressures and threats. But I think there are no reasons for fear for the simple reason that we are doing nothing that is detrimental to the interests of others. We are trying to organize our country in a way best suited to its citizens, and I think there is nothing else, there could be no other choice, then to hold our destiny in our own hands while acting honestly toward the surrounding environment and while also not letting others determine our fate; that is, letting others determine how we shall act and how we shall organize our country.

[Vucelic] Mr. President...

[Milosevic, interrupting] So there are no, no reasons for fear. Certainly there are reasons for concern. It can be said that anyone who is not concerned today is irresponsible.

[Vucelic] What do you think is the best way to get out of this mood of concern and fear.... [Vucelic corrects himself] concern and disquiet? What should the citizens, all of us together, all political subjects in Serbia, [word indistinct] citizens do so that we can get out of this situation in which we find ourselves at the moment as soon as possible?

[Milosevic] The stabilization of our state should help everyone as soon as possible. So, starting from the Constitution (?and) its institutions, after six years we shall in a few days have one, I hope, reciprocal federal government that will not be split by mutual quarrels, that will be orientated to resolving vital problems of this country. So, to establish as soon as possible the entire system of institutions in this country; to contribute toward everyone working as well as possible at their workplaces in their own interests, in the interest of their families and in interests of their nation. [sentence as heard] There is no another way for successful economic development, cultural development, and general social development.

We will, I hope, very quickly end this chaos in our economy, where citizens rightly protest that they are facing corruption, speculation, and enrichment on the basis, on the basis, of this speculation and corruption—and not on the basis of work. We must try to have a rich society, but a rich society where people live off the fruits of their labor, and not corruption and speculation. I hope that with the establishment of the institutions of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the election of its Assembly, with the election of its government, and with the speedy adoption—on the basis of tasks that are already under way in Serbia and Montenegro—of an efficient program of economic stabilization and the curbing of inflation, we will be able to build a basis on which a turnaround will be made with respect to the current economic chaos in the country, on which it will be possible to create a stimulating economic atmosphere in which productivity and, especially, economic efficiency can be raised as well as individual and social standards.

## Bozovic Sees EC Sanctions as 'Short-Lived'

*LD2805213792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1659 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Novi Pazar, 28 May (TANJUG)—Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic has called on citizens to vote so the new state can be officially constituted, without which vital issues cannot be resolved. He made this appeal during talks today with businessmen and party leaders in Novi Pazar.

The prime minister stressed that the EC measures will harm Serbia, but they will be short-lived because they are forced, unneccesary, unjust, and against the logic of money. Nothing can be achieved with these measures.

The dignity of a state and democratic nature of a nation cannot be bought with sanctions, Bozovic said, and he promised that our diplomats will do everything possible to prove that these measures are wrong.

Since one of the topics of the talks was Army presence in the area, Bozovic said there is no place for fear, and that young men from our people are in the Army.

When war is raging and when neighbor is killing neighbor in parts of the former Yugoslavia, you ought to do everything possible to preserve peace. There are no winners in a war between neighbors, Bozovic said, and he added that the Government of the Republic of Serbia is guaranteeing a peaceful life to all citizens regardless of their nationality, religion, or party affiliation.

I call on you to preserve peace, tolerance, and equality, because we have no other time and no other country, Bozovic said.

### Industry Chief on Measures Against Oil Embargo

*LD2905142192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1251 GMT 29 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, May 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will increase its oil production and reserves in a bid to mitigate the consequences of a possible oil embargo, Serbian Oil Industry Director Milan Djakovic said in Novi Sad on Friday.

In the first quarter of 1992 Yugoslavia produced 4.5 percent more oil and natural gas than in the same period last year, and even managed to exceed this year's plan by 2.8 percent.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is made up of Serbia and Montenegro. Its major oil fields are in Serbia's northern Vojvodina Province.

At present there are no indications that oil imports will be cut off via the Danube River and Romania.

China, Yugoslavia's major oil supplier, has not announced a reduction or halt of oil exports.

Also encouraging is an agreement signed with Russia for 3.5 million dollars worth of oil and gas deliveries in exchange for farming products, consumer goods and building materials.

Experts believe that Iran's decision on Wednesday to halt all oil deliveries to Serbia "due to the atrocities over the Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina" will not have more significant effects on Iran's oil exports to Serbia for the first six months amounted to only 15 percent of the republic's oil imports.

According to estimates, an oil embargo against Serbia would be effective only if it were accepted by all United Nations members, especially Russia, China and Romania (Serbia's major oil suppliers).

The creators of the economic sanctions, primarily the United States and the European Community, are blaming Serbia for its alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and its support to the Serbs living in this ex-Yugoslav republic who are being named as the chief perpetrators of the inter-ethnic conflicts and destruction.

The Yugoslav Presidency a number of times underscored that such allegations are one-sided and unfounded.

Yugoslavia by May 19 withdrew all soldiers, nationals of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, from Bosnia. Remaining are only members of the former Yugoslav People's Army who are under a Moslem-Croat blockade in barracks in Sarajevo.

### Deputy Premier Contemplates Oil Sanctions

*LD2505173392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 25 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 25 May (TANJUG)—Oil sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) are not supported by economic reasons, but they are a direct political threat to the Serbian people precisely at a time when the last remaining members of the Yugoslav Army are leaving Bosnia, Nikola Sainovic, deputy premier of the Republic of Serbia, said today.

At a news press conference in Belgrade, Sainovic said that Serbia meets 20-25 percent of its need from its own production. "This is sufficient to keep transport going," he stressed.

"At this precise moment when a way out of the political crisis is sought on the basis of the principle of equality, the United States and the European Community are threatening new sanctions against the FRY, denying the Serbian nation the right to self-determination," Sainovic stressed.

He said that the energy situation is currently stable in respect to supplies of electricity, coal, gas, and oil derivatives, but he stressed that prices of all energy sources are well below market prices. This is not accidental, he explained, because we want to give industry a breathing space to allow it to deploy its resource well.

### Foreign Minister Interviewed on Sarajevo Attacks

*LD2805143192 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 27 May 92*

[Interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic in Belgrade by correspondent Dermot Monahan in London on 27 May; from the "Channel 4 News" program—live]

[Text] [Monahan] Mr. Jovanovic, do you join the rest of the international community in condemning, unreservedly, attacks such as today's on unarmed civilians in Sarajevo?

[Jovanovic] Of course, we have done it repeatedly, a few times this afternoon. We consider it not only as a criminal act against humanity, human beings, but also as a blow against the peace and the peaceful efforts exacted in the last couple of days by a number of people including by our own republic and Russian Foreign Minister Mr. Kozyrev. We're still not in a state to say which side is directly responsible, but which ever side is responsible, regardless of its motivation or justification, this is a criminal act of the first rank. We have only one disgust and very strong condemnation of...

[Monahan, interrupting] How strongly and how seriously will you go about the task of bringing the culprits for this attack to heel and preventing such further attacks taking place?

[Jovanovic] Any culprit, anybody, or any side, any group or activity which is behind it should be brought to justice. We insist on that very energetically and entirely sincerely. Our prime minister stated this afternoon: We don't have any mercy or any understanding for anybody or any side which is behind that. We would like also to mention that our republic, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is also very sincerely interested in only one thing, in the immediate and unconditional stopping of that bloodshed and hostilities and in reinforcing that negotiation process. First of all the Lisbon conference...

[Monahan, interrupting] Mr. Jovanovich, you seem keen to distance yourself from the activities of Serbian irregular forces in Bosnia, but it must be said in the eyes of the rest of the world that Serbia seems better placed to influence their activities, they pledge allegiance to Serbia, and in many cases are using JNA weapons.

[Jovanovic] This is one general assumption that Serbia is primarily [words indistinct] because of the fact that it is the mother state of the Serbs living in Bosnia. You have another mother state, Croatia, which has committed evasion and annexation of the last portion of Bosnia, but it has not been mentioned at all. Of course, I don't want to say that we don't have any influence. We do have it, we do exercise it, we do our best in order to direct the political potential of Serbian people in Bosnia in the direction of the political settlement, the comprehensive one. As a result of that, we can say that in the last couple of weeks there have been a lot of peaceful initiatives by the Serbian-Bosnian side. Fortunately, they have been responded by the Moslems and others.

[Monahan] Does Serbia now accept the inviability of Bosnian territory and Croatian territory? Does it recognize them and accept them as sovereign states?

[Jovanovic] We have never questioned the territorial integrity of Bosnia and its borders. We only defended rights, legitimate national rights of whole free constituent units. We committed ourselves in advance to support in advance any [words indistinct] on the future constituency arrangement in one independent Bosnia.

[Monahan] It must be said then Mr. Jovanovic, that you don't seem to be getting your message across very effectively to the international community with the E.C. bringing in trade sanctions and the U.N. considering them.

[Jovanovic] I am afraid that there is one very big and unfortunate misunderstanding, because of the general assumption that Serbia is to be a guilty side just because it is the largest republic and its a neighbor state to Bosnia-Hercegovina. That assumption, that accusation that we are aggressive is not substantiated by any evidence. It is very dangerous to base any policy and to make any political conclusions or actions based on the assumed capabilities. Even in the international law, the presumption of innocence is a universal rule and principle. We insist on that—that we are not involved at all with that civil war. We are not responsible for it starting and for its developing. We have sent many, many warnings to all parties wanting, wishing to listen to us that the delicate balance of rights between free constituent peoples is to be respected and that quality is the cornerstone of any existence of that republic.

## Milosevic Discusses Plans for Economic Recovery

*LD2805214892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 28 May 92*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, spoke about economic trends in the republic and topical issues of interest for revitalization of the economy and improving the business efficiency of economic subjects in Serbia. He held talks with directors of a number of large enterprises, self-employed people, and the leadership of the Economic Chamber at the chamber today.

Addressing the businessmen, President Milosevic said, among other things: Bearing in mind preparations under way in Serbia and Montenegro, we expect that the new federal government will table a comprehensive program aimed at cutting the rate of inflation and creating conditions for a successful and speedy economic recovery. Time is the key factor, because unless we have a comprehensive program and start to implement it by midsummer, then this year will be completely lost in respect to the curbing of inflation and the economic recovery.

We will thus insist that the new assembly and the federal government do not lose a single day or a single hour. The introduction of order in the country's economic life means liquidation of everything that causes chaos in the economy and even the placement under the control of institutions of the federal states. This should be a turning point in this sense. [sentence as received] Otherwise, inflation and all those who used it to make profit on the basis of it will choke healthy motivation to improve productivity and efficiency of the economy and will put into jeopardy economic recovery, which is a precondition for economic development and improved living standards.

The aim of the economic policy should be the creation of a favorable atmosphere for economic development and success. Simply: Wealth through work and not wealth through speculations and fraud, which today causes justifiable concern, disapproval, and even revolt among citizens and businessmen. This should mean that no longer will it be possible to cover low productivity and inefficiency with endless price rises. Each enterprise will have to face and battle with its own weaknesses of this kind and to seek and find a solution in its own productivity and not in unsustainable prices. The government and the unions and the businessmen—all of you and your colleagues throughout the country—should unite behind adoption and implementation of that program, Slobodan Milosevic said. [passage omitted]

### Court Not To Assess Election Decision

*LD2805192492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1531 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of Serbia on Thursday rejected the proposal to assess the constitutionality of the decision to call federal parliamentary elections in Yugoslavia, explaining that only the Federal Constitutional Court is competent to assess the constitutionality of the decision.

The decision to call the elections is disputed by the strongest opposition parties in Serbia—the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) and the Democratic Party (DS). The two parties pointed out that the elections had been called during the state of an immediate danger of war, which is contrary to the Constitution.

The two parties also invoked an article of the Republican Constitution specifying that elections cannot be called during the state of an immediate danger of war. However, the elections for a federal parliament were called under the federal Constitution, which does not include such an article.

The Yugoslav Presidency revoked the decision on the immediate danger of war on May 20, a few days after calling the federal elections and after the members of the Yugoslav People's Army had withdrawn from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The elections have been scheduled for May 31. The voters should elect 138 deputies for the Chamber of Citizens, one of the two chambers in the new federal parliament. Serbia will be represented by 108 deputies and Montenegro by 20 deputies.

The deputies for the Chamber of the Republics will be elected by the republican parliaments. The Serbian parliament has already elected its deputies.

The Constitutional Court of Serbia maintains that the constitutionality of the decision to call local elections in the republic on May 31 is not subject to assessment.

The court explains that the objections that the local elections should not have been called by the president of the republican parliament are unfounded because such a possibility is envisaged by the law on Serbia's territorial organization.

### Democratic Movement Calls for Election Boycott

*LD2805213192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Novi Sad, 28 May (TANJUG)—Only a few hours before the pre-election silence, a rally called by the Serbian Democratic Movement was held in Novi Sad this evening. At the meeting, leaders of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO], the Serbian Liberal Party [SLS] and the Democratic Party [DS] and other prominent personalities called on citizens to boycott the 31 May elections.

Vuk Draskovic told 20,000 citizens of Novi Sad and nearby villages, as well as Belgrade, Valjevo, and Krusevac, that the announced elections "are nothing. They do not exist because neither the democratic opposition nor the international community recognize them." The SPO leader added that the results are known in advance and that "they are just a repeat of the rigged 1945 elections." He also said that "the main enemy of the Serbian people is in Belgrade."

"We ourselves, and not someone from outside, must end communism and fascism," Draskovic added and called on sympathizers to march on Belgrade.

The SLS leader, academician Nikola Milosevic, stressed that the only objective of the existing regime is to preserve power "which it gained by force after the Second World War." A member of the DS leadership, Vojislav Kostunica, assessed that "these are the last rigged elections, which will be recorded in history books as such."

Writer Mladen Markov, Deputy Mirko Petrovic, director Aleksandar Petrovic, and actress Ljiljana Lasic spoke at the rally in front of the Vojvodina sports and business center. Vuk Draskovic addressed the rally for the second time.

### Declaration of Support for Democratic Movement

*92BA0943D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 92 p 7*

[Declaration: "Return to Civilization"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] Declaration of support for the initiative for unification of the democratic forces in Serbia.

Deeply concerned for the fate and future of the Serbian people, tragically divided after the collapse of Yugoslavia;

aware that the ruling party and its army, through their dangerous policy, incompetence as statesmen, diplomatic clumsiness, and military defeats, have destroyed almost all the results achieved by the liberation struggles of the Serbian people, leaving it for the first time in its history without a friend in the world;

resolved to introduce a true democratic order that will restore Serbia's reputation, and the Serbian people's self-confidence, dignity, and strength, we are advocating the establishment of a

Serbian democratic movement.

The basic goal of the Serbian democratic movement will be to establish a democratic system in Serbia as quickly as possible and peacefully.

The only way to achieve that goal is to schedule elections for a constitutional assembly. It is therefore essential to postpone these elections scheduled for 31 May 1992.

Otherwise, the elections should be boycotted and their outcome should be considered invalid.

It is also essential to convene at once a roundtable of the ruling party, the opposition parties, and nonparty factors, which will prepare elections for the constitutional assembly.

The Serbian democratic movement will invite into its ranks political parties, institutions, associations, and individuals who are willing at this crucial moment to provide active support for changing the regime and for gathering together all the people's forces in order to secure for Serbia the place that belongs to it in the community of the civilized world.

This declaration has been signed by the leaders of three political parties—the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Democratic Party, and the Serbian Liberal Party—as well as prominent cultural and public workers:

Borislav Mihajlovic-Mihiz, writer; Matija Beckovic, writer and member of SANU [Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts]; Borislav Pekic, writer and member of SANU; Vuk Draskovic, writer; Mladen Srbinovic, painter and member of SANU; Nikola Milosevic, university professor and member of SANU; Zivorad Stojkovic, writer and literary historian; Predrag Palavestra, writer and member of SANU; Kosta Cavoski, university professor; Pavle Nikolic, University professor; Vojislav Kostunica, laywer and people's deputy; Radomir Reljic, painter and member of SANU; Miodrag Mica Popovic, painter and member of SANU; Miroslav Gapic, university professor and member of SANU; Bata Mihajlovic, painter and member of SANU; Slobodan Selenic, writer; Slobodan Dusanic, university professor and member of SANU; Slobodan Rakitic, writer and people's deputy; Mladen Markov, writer; Milan Komnenic, writer; Branko Popovic, university professor and member of SANU; Danko Popovic, writer; Dragoslav Srejovic, university professor and member of SANU; Ivan Antic, university professor and member of SANU; Nikola Tasic, university professor and member of SANU; Vladeta Jankovic, university professor; Vladimir Stamenkovic, university professor; Leon Kojen, university professor; Radoslav Stojanovic, university professor; Milan Bozic, university professor; Vladan Vasilijevic, university professor; Milka Cvoric, university professor; Radoslav Andjus, university professor; Rados Ljusic, university professor; Drasko Petrovic, lawyer; Mirko Petrovic, lawyer and people's deputy; Borivoj Rasuo; Milenko Radic, lawyer; Lila Radonjic, journalist; Radovan Manodovic; Mihailo Milinkovic, university graduate student; Slobodan Mavrenovic, lawyer; Vladimir Gajic, lawyer; Danilo Bata Stojkovic, dramatic artist; Vladan Batic, lawyer; Djordje Mamula, lawyer; Breda Kaher, operatic artist; Marko Jankovic, journalist; Dusan Vukajnovic; Miroslav Simic; Gordana Zarubina; Bosko Talenta; Caslav Ocic; Zoran Kulinovic; and Nikola Samardzic.

### No Response From Kosovo Albanians on Talks Offer

*LD2905100292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1958 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Albanian minority from Kosovo and Metohija did not on Thursday respond to the Serbian Government's invitation to take part in talks on the problems of the functioning of the rule of law in the Republic of Serbia's southern province.

This is the second time in a month that representatives of ethnic Albanians, who make up the majority population in Kosovo and Metohija and 15 percent of the population of Serbia, have rejected the Serbian authorities' appeal for dialogue.

They rejected a similar appeal before the illegal elections for the so-called "Republic of Kosovo" held on May 24 this year.

In secret voting in homes, ethnic Albanians elected their leader Ibrahim Rugova, who was the only candidate, the president of the illegal republic and 80 parliament deputies.

The elections, in which only ethnic Albanians participated, were organized contrary to the constitution of Serbia and are therefore illegitimate and their results invalid.

The Serbian Government expressed regret that the representatives of the ethnic Albanian parties did not respond to the invitation and said such acts were to the detriment above all of the ethnic Albanian minority itself.

For more than one and a half years, ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija have been boycotting the institutions and organs of the Republic of Serbia, advocating the creation of an independent state and its secession and joining to neighbouring Albania.

Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija have the status of a national minority, and not a nation, and therefore, even under intenational acts, do not have the right to self-determination.

## Kosovo

### Official on Prevention of Albanian State

*LD2805230992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2153 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Pristina, May 28 (TANJUG)—The state of Serbia will by all means prevent the forming of some new Albanian state on its territory, president of the Serbian parliament Committee for the Province of Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet) Momcilo Trajkovic warned on Thursday.

In talks with the head of the delegation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Center for the Prevention of Conflicts, David Pell, Trajkovic requested that the European Community and the United States openly point out to ethnic Albanians that secession on the line of changes of borders was in direct contradiction with the principles of the CSCE.

Trajkovic said political parties of ethnic Albanians in Kosmet have brought the situation to the brink of conflict.

Ethnic Albanians in Kosmet, who are boycotting Serbian organs of power, illegally proclaimed the Serbian province a republic and are advocating its joining with Albania. This was done despite the fact that as a national minority, under international acts, they do not have the right to their own state.

In illegal elections on May 24, ethnic Albanians voted in homes to elect the president and parliament deputie of the so-called Republic of Kosovo.

The state can tolerate such separatist and secessionist moves by the parties of ethnic Albanians as long as they remain verbal, but if they try to establish a structure of power of the so-called Republic of Kosovo, they are taking the responsibility for the real possibility of an open conflict, the Serbian official warned.

The solution for the Kosmet problem is in democratic dialogue within the frameworks of institutions of the system of the Republic of Serbia, but ethnic Albanians are persistently rejecting this, Trajkovic said.

### Albanian Parties Reject Bozovic's Invitation

*LD2805182992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Pristina, 28 May (TANJUG)—Today, leaders of the Albanian political parties declined Serbian Government President Radoman Bozovic's invitation to come to Belgrade and discuss the upcoming federal election, the Albanian-language magazine "BUJKU" of Pristina reports in today's issue.

The magazine claims that no political party has accepted this invitation because, according to "BUJKU," "Following the 24 May election, Kosovo has its own legitimate organs, and there is no need to call another election."

This second invitation to the Albanian political parties from the Serbian Government is regarded by the magazine "as a farce and political game by which the Serbian Government is fooling Europe and the world by alleging that it is extending its hand to the Albanians, something no one believes any longer."

"The Government of Serbia knows that the Albanians have held multi-party elections, and it also knows the level at which one can communicate on equal terms," the magazine concludes that "a government can only talk to a government, a president of a political party to a president."

### Statement Issued on 'Independent State'

*LD2805152192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Pristina, 28 May (TANJUG)—Following the Albanians' illegal elections in Kosovo and Metohija, the illegal "government of the Republic of Kosovo" has announced that "in a regular procedure Kosovo has become a sovereign and independent state, with its own legitimate and legally elected organs, by legally and publicly constituting itself."

A statement carried today by the Albanian-language magazine BUJKU of Pristina says that "the commitment of Albanians to solve problems by voting rather than by waging war is their response to the Serbian authorities' measures."

The statement says that "democratic Albania also played a positive role" in the organization of these elections.

### President Rugova on Democracy in Kosovo

*AU2705131092 Tirana ATA in English 1044 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Tirana, May 27 (ATA)—In an interview with the newspapers BUJKU and RILINDJA, the President of the Republic of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova said among the other things: "We will try to attain what we have asked for, the democratic institutions, democracy in Kosovo, the independence of Kosovo. I will pledge for Kosovo as independent and neutral state of free and equal peoples and citizens, with open borders in the context of Balkan and European integrations. The legitimate representatives will exert the legitimate and democratic power of the people in Kosovo. It has been said and we believe, said President Rugova, that the international community will acknowledge this legitimacy.

In so far as the question what was the role of foreign observers' estimation that the elections were fair, Mr. Rugova answered: It was the best estimation.

Whereas as far as the last question is concerned, that is, what will happen after elections, Rugova said: "We are aware of the circumstances under which elections were conducted and what power we may create under such circumstances. We will carry on step by step the formation of parliament and government and institutions here in Kosovo. Naturally in our work as until now we will come across difficulties. But we will try to attain our goals by means of negotiations. Now we are in a better position as we have the legitimacy of the majority of the people of Kosovo. The Serb power may carry on repressions and pressure. But our voice may be heard more in the world, because we have legitimacy.

### Serbian Police Continue Arrests in Pec

*AU2805165992 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Tirana, May 28 (ATA)—According to the reports from Pristina, the Leshan village of Peje [Pec] is still under the repression of a police blockade. On May 26 in this village Tahir Berisha was killed in an armed conflict between the Serb police and the Albanian citizens and according to the police information, a police was killed and another wounded.

Many citizens are arrested and beaten in Leshan and the near by villages. On May 27 the police arrested also the Belgian Senator Willy Kuijpers as well as the Kosovar activist Zekeria Cana, who had gone to observe the tensed situation in Leshan and the Commune of Peje.

The reporters of BUJKU of Pristina not only were not allowed to go on the spot, but they were brutally beaten by the police. The Belgian Senator Kuijpers, who was released from the arrest, stated that in the villages of Peje Commune, the Serbs are provided with various kinds of weapons. He stated likewise that in Leshan and in its vicinity more that 50 Albanians are arrested.

The reporters of RILINDJA as well as the Independent Association of the Reporters of Kosovo strongly reacted and protested against the beatings and maltreatments and repression by the Serb police.

### Parties Contest in Kosovo, Metohija Elections

*LD2905100392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 28 May 92*

[Excerpt] Pristina, 28 May (TANJUG)—The electoral battle for seats in the federal parliament and for deputies to municipal assemblies in Kosovo and Metohija has generally been marked by a duel between the ruling the Socialist Party of Serbia and Seselj's Serbian Radical Party.

In all five constituencies, these two parties have nominated their candidates for one seat in the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and a large number of candidates for municipal deputies. [passage omitted]